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A

COLLECTION

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VOYAGES AND TRAVELS.

Of GREAT BRITAIN in general.

GREAT BRITAIN, the largeſt iſland in Europe, comprehends the two kingdoms of England and Scotland, with the principality of Wales. Its latitude, at the Lizard Point in Cornwall, according to Moll, is 50° north, and at the head-land at Caithneſs in Scotland, 58° 30′; ſo that, according to the geometrical meaſure of Engliſh ſtatute miles, which is 69 miles and 864 feet to a degree, the length of the iſland, meaſured in a direct line, without attending to the hills and winding of the roads, is 587 miles. Its longitude, Teneriffe being the firſt meridian, is 9° 45′ at the Land's-End in Cornwall, and at the South Foreland in Kent, 17° 15′. Now every degree of longitude in this latitude being about 38 ſtatute miles, the breadth therefore between theſe two extremities will be 285 miles.

As an iſland, this country has ſome peculiar natural advantages and diſadvantages: it is ſubject to perpetual varieties of heat and cold, wet and dry; but the heats in ſummer, and the colds in winter, are more temperate than in any part of the Continent that lies in the ſame latitude: the harbours in Holland, Germany, and Denmark, are blocked up

with ice, while ours, which lie in the ſame latitude, are open. To this moderation of the climate is attributed the long lives of many of the inhabitants; and to the ſame cauſe is owing that almoſt perpetual verdure, in a manner peculiar to this country; which in the ſummer is frequently refreſhed by ſeaſonable ſhowers, and by the warm vapours of the ſea, in winter, is generally ſecured from any long continuance of froſt and ſnow.

This happy ſituation of our iſland can never be ſufficiently valued, as it renders Great Britain a world, as it were, within itſelf, intirely independent of other nations; and furniſhes her with all the neceſſaries of life, in ſuch abundance, as enables her to ſupply other nations.

That part of Great Britain which lies toward the Weſtern Ocean, is mountainous, as Cornwall, Wales, and Cumberland; likewiſe ſome of the interior counties, as part of Derbyſhire, Yorkſhire, Weſtmorland, Northumberland, and near one half of Scotland. The eaſtern and ſouthern parts of the country, chiefly conſiſt of little fruitful hills and vallies, champaign fields, incloſed grounds of arable, paſture, and meadow lands; agreeably intermixed with wood and water; and being much incloſed and cultivated, it abounds with proſpects that in beauty can ſcarcely be exceeded, even by the fictions of imagination.

It has on all ſides very convenient harbours, and many extenſive navigable rivers, that convey the riches of all the nations of the known world into the very centre of the kingdom. The moſt conſiderable rivers in England are the Thames, Severn, and Humber; in Scotland, the Forth, Clyde, and Tay.

Various are the names by which this iſland hath been known, and as different are the reaſons aſſigned for them. It was called Albion by the Greeks, Bretanica by the Phœnicians, and Brittannia by the Romans,

STONE HENGE, a celebrated Monument of the Druids on Salisbury Plain.

mans, who diſtinguiſhed that part, now the Highlands of Scotland, by the name of Caledonia.

The inhabitants of Great Britain and Ireland, according to ſome calculations, ſo late as the year 1758, allowing ſix perſons to each houſe, are computed at eight millions; viz. in England and Wales 5,700,000; in Scotland 1,300,000; and in Ireland 1,000,000; to theſe may be added near 2,000,000 ſuppoſed to be in the Britiſh ſettlements in Aſia, Africa, and America.

With reſpect to the perſons and character of the Engliſh, they are generally of a ſtrong active make, well ſhaped, and of good ſtature. They are induſtrious, lovers of the liberal arts, and capable of carrying them to the greateſt perfection. They are neither ſo heavy as the Germans, nor ſo exceedingly mercurial as the French; but are obſerved to be generally open and blunt in their behaviour, and particularly averſe to ſervility and cringing. Their good nature, generoſity and humanity, have been frequently ſhewn to their enemies, in ſuch a manner as to do honour even to human nature. The lenity of their laws in capital caſes; their compaſſion for convicted criminals; even the general humanity of highwaymen and robbers of this nation, compared with thoſe of other countries; are all convincing proofs that the ſpirit of humanity is natural to them. The many noble foundations for the relief of the miſerable and the friendleſs; the large annual ſupplies from voluntary charities to theſe foundations, and on every other occaſion where their benevolence is ſolicited, are alſo ſtriking proofs of true goodneſs of heart and greatneſs of ſoul, for which this nation has been always diſtinguiſhed.

In point of courage no people exceed, and very few equal the Engliſh; who are remarkable for this particular, that no people ſhew a more reſolute obſtinacy in battle, though under the greateſt diſadvantages. Their valour and bravery, both by ſea and

land, hath been so frequently exerted in many parts of the world, that the most formidable kingdoms have been constrained to yield to the superior force of their arms: so that Great Britain, at this time, by their courage and prudence, gives liberty to Europe, and has acquired an extent of territory equal to the Roman empire when in its meridian of power, and infinitely more useful to the mother country.

The women, beside their natural beauty, which is such as not to need the assistance of paint, so common in other countries, are still more to be valued for their prudent behaviour, thorough cleanliness, and a tender affection for their husbands and children. As to the faults of the English; foreigners have remarked that they are somewhat passionate, melancholy, fickle and unsteady; one moment applauding, what they detest in the next; and that the lower sort of people have too contemptible an idea of other nations; and are thence apt to treat strangers with rudeness. But this latter accusation seems rather to have been founded on particular instances, which a great relish for, and propensity to humour, so observable among the common people, may sometimes betray them into; than to belong to them as a national character.

Of the Government and Civil Policy of BRITAIN.

In all states there is an absolute supreme power, to which the right of legislation belongs; and which, by the singular constitution of these kingdoms, is vested in the king, lords, and commons.

Of the King.

The supreme executive power of Great Britain, and Ireland, is vested by our constitution in a single person, king or queen; for it is indifferent to which

which ſex the crown deſcends: the perſon entitled to it, whether male or female, is immediately inveſted with all the enſigns, rights, and prerogatives of ſovereign power.

The grand fundamental maxim upon which the right of ſucceſſion to the throne of theſe kingdoms depends, is: "that the crown, by common law and conſtitutional cuſtom, is hereditary; and this in a manner peculiar to itſelf: but that the right of inheritance may from time to time be changed or limited by act of parliament: under which limitations the crown ſtill continues hereditary."

King Egbert, king Canute, and king William I. have been ſucceſſively conſtituted the common ſtocks, or anceſtors, of this deſcent.

On the death of queen Elizabeth, without iſſue, the line of Henry VIII. became extinct. It therefore became neceſſary to recur to the other iſſue of Henry VII. by Elizabeth of York his queen: whoſe eldeſt daughter Margaret having married James IV. king of Scotland, king James the Sixth of Scotland, and of England the Firſt, was the lineal deſcendant from that alliance. So that in his perſon, as clearly as in Henry VIII. centered all the claims of the different competitors from the conqueſt downward; he being indiſputably the lineal heir of the conqueror. And, what is ſtill more remarkable, in his perſon alſo centered the right of the Saxon monarchs, which had been ſuſpended from the conqueſt till his acceſſion. For, Margaret the ſiſter of Edgar Atheling, the daughter of Edward the Outlaw, and granddaughter of king Edmund Ironſide, was the perſon in whom the hereditary right of the Saxon kings, ſuppoſing it not aboliſhed by the conqueſt, reſided. She married Malcolm king of Scotland; and Henry II. by a deſcent from Matilda their daughter, is generally called the reſtorer of the Saxon line. But it muſt be remembered, that Malcolm by his Saxon queen had ſons as well as daughters; and that the

royal family of Scotland, from that time downward, were the offspring of Malcolm and Margaret. Of this royal family king James I. was the direct lineal defcendant; and therefore united in his perfon every poffible claim, by hereditary right, to the Engliſh as well as Scottiſh throne, being the heir both of Egbert and William the Conqueror.

At the revolution, the convention of eſtates, or repreſentative body of the nation, declared, that the miſconduct of king James II. amounted to an abdication of the government, and that the throne was thereby vacant.

In conſequence of this vacancy, and from a regard to the ancient line, the convention appointed the next Proteſtant heirs of the blood royal of king Charles I. to fill the vacant throne, in the old order of ſucceſſion; with a temporary exception, or preference, to the perſon of king William III.

On the impending failure of the Proteſtant line of King Charles I. (whereby the throne might again have become vacant) the king and parliament extended the ſettlement of the crown to the Proteſtant line of King James I. viz. to the princeſs Sophia of Hanover, and the heirs of her body, being Proteſtants: and ſhe is now the common ſtock, from whom the heirs of the crown muſt deſcend.

The true ground and principle, upon which the revolution proceeded, was an entirely new caſe in politics, which had never before happened in our hiſtory; the abdication of the reigning monarch, and the vacancy of the throne thereupon. It was not a defeazance of the right of ſucceſſion, and a new limitation of the crown, by the king and both houſes of parliament: it was the act of the nation alone, upon a conviction that there was no king in being. For in a full aſſembly of the lords and commons, met in convention upon the ſuppoſition of this vacancy, both houſes came to this reſolution; "that

"that king James II. having endeavoured to ſubvert the conſtitution of the kingdom, by breaking the original contract between king and people; and, by the advice of jeſuits and other wicked perſons, having violated the fundamental laws; and having withdrawn himſelf out of this kingdom; has abdicated the government, and that the throne is thereby vacant." Thus ended at once, by this ſudden and unexpected vacancy of the throne, the old line of ſucceſſion; which from the conqueſt had laſted above 600 years, and from the union of the heptarchy in king Egbert, almoſt 900.

Though in ſome points (owing to the peculiar circumſtances of things and perſons) the revolution was not altogether ſo perfect as might have been wiſhed; yet from thence a new æra commenced, in which the bounds of prerogative and liberty have been better defined, the principles of government more thoroughly examined and underſtood, and the rights of the ſubject more explicitly guarded by legal proviſions, than in any other period of the Engliſh hiſtory. In particular, it is worthy obſervation, that the convention, in this their judgment, avoided with great wiſdom the wild extreams into which the viſionary theories of ſome zealous republicans would have led them. They held that this miſconduct of king James amounted to an endeavour to ſubvert the conſtitution, and not to an actual ſubverſion, or total diſſolution of the government. They therefore very prudently voted it to amount to no more than an abdication of the government, and a conſequent vacancy of the throne; whereby the government was allowed to ſubſiſt, though the executive magiſtrate was gone; and the kingly office to remain, though king James was no longer king. And thus the conſtitution was kept intire; which upon every ſound principle of government muſt otherwiſe have fallen to pieces, had ſo principal and conſtituent a

part as the royal authority been abolished, or even suspended *.

Hence it is easy to collect, that the title to the crown is at present hereditary, though not quite so absolutely hereditary as formerly; and the common stock or ancestor, from whom the descent must be derived, is also different. Formerly the common stock was king Egbert, then William the Conqueror; afterward in James the First's time the two common stocks united, and so continued till the vacancy of the throne in 1688: now it is the princess Sophia, in whom the inheritance was vested by the new king and parliament. Formerly the descent was absolute, and the crown went to the next heir without any re-

* The constitution of England, says Dr. Smollet, had now assumed a new aspect. The maxim of hereditary, indefeasible right, was at length renounced by a free parliament. The power of the crown was acknowledged to flow from no other fountain than that of a contract with the people. Allegiance and protection were declared reciprocal ties depending upon each other. The representatives of the nation made a regular claim of rights in behalf of their constituents; and William III. ascended the throne in consequence of an express capitulation with the people. Yet, on this occasion, the parliament, toward their deliverer, seems to have overshot their attachment to their own liberty and privileges: or, at least, they neglected the fairest opportunity that ever occurred, to retrench those prerogatives of the crown to which they imputed all the late and former calamities of the kingdom. Their new monarch retained the old regal power over parliaments, in its full extent: he was at liberty to convoke, adjourn, prorogue, and dissolve them at his pleasure: he was enabled to influence elections, and oppress corporations: he possessed the right of chusing his own council; of nominating all the great officers of the state, and of the household, of the army, the navy, and the church. He reserved the absolute command of the militia: so that he remained master of all the instruments and engines of corruption and violence, without any other restraint than his own moderation, and prudent regard to the claim of rights and principle of resistance on which the revolution was founded. In a word, the settlement was finished with some precipitation, before the plan had been properly digested and matured; and this will be the case in every establishment, formed upon a sudden emergency in the face of opposition.

striction:

ſtriction: but now, upon the new ſettlement, the inheritance is conditional; being limited to ſuch heirs only, of the body of the princeſs Sophia, as are Proteſtant members of the church of England, and are married to none but Proteſtants.

And in this due medium conſiſts the true conſtitutional notion of the right of ſucceſſion to the imperial crown of theſe kingdoms. The extreams, between which it ſteers, are each of them equally deſtructive of thoſe ends for which ſocieties were formed and are kept on foot. Where the magiſtrate, upon every ſucceſſion, is elected by the people, and may by the expreſs proviſion of the laws be depoſed (if not puniſhed) by his ſubjects, this may ſound like the perfection of liberty, and look well enough when delineated on paper; but in practice will be ever productive of tumult, contention, and anarchy. And, on the other hand, divine indefeaſible hereditary right, when coupled with the doctrine of unlimited paſſive obedience, is ſurely of all conſtitutions the moſt thoroughly ſlaviſh and dreadful. But when ſuch an hereditary right, as our laws have created and veſted in the royal ſtock, is cloſely interwoven with thoſe liberties, which are equally the inheritance of the ſubject; this union will form a conſtitution, in theory the moſt beautiful of any, in practice the moſt approved, and, in all probability, will prove in duration the moſt permanent. This conſtitution, it is the duty of every good Engliſhman to underſtand, to revere, and to defend.

The principal duties of the king are expreſſed in his oath at the coronation, which is adminiſtered by one of the archbiſhops, or biſhops of the realm, in the preſence of all the people; who on their parts do reciprocally take the oath of allegiance to the crown. This coronation oath is conceived in the following terms:

"*The archbiſhop or biſhop ſhall ſay*, Will you ſo-
"lemnly promiſe and ſwear to govern the people

"of

" of this kingdom of England, and the dominions " thereunto belonging, according to the ſtatutes in " parliament agreed on, and the laws and cuſtoms " of the ſame?——*The king or queen ſhall ſay*, I " ſolemnly promiſe ſo to do.

" *Archbiſhop or biſhop.* Will you to your power " cauſe law and juſtice, in mercy, to be executed in " all your judgments?——*King or queen.* I will.

" *Archbiſhop or biſhop.* Will you to the utmoſt of " your power maintain the laws of God, the true " profeſſion of the goſpel, and the Proteſtant re- " formed religion eſtabliſhed by the law? And will " you preſerve unto the biſhops and clergy of this " realm, and to the churches committed to their " charge, all ſuch rights and privileges as by law " do or ſhall appertain unto them, or any of them? " ——*King or queen.* All this I promiſe to do.

" *After this the king or queen, laying his or her hand* " *upon the holy goſpels, ſhall ſay*, The things which " I have here before promiſed I will perform and " keep: ſo help me God. *And then ſhall kiſs the* " *book.*"

This is the form of the coronation oath, as it is now preſcribed by our laws: and we may obſerve, that in the king's part in this original contract, are expreſſed all the duties that a monarch can owe to his people; viz. to govern according to law: to execute judgment in mercy: and to maintain the eſtabliſhed religion. With reſpect to the latter of theſe three branches, we may farther remark, that by the act of union, 5 Ann. c. 8. two preceding ſtatutes are recited and confirmed; the one of the parliament of Scotland, the other of the parliament of England: which enact; the former, that every king at his acceſſion ſhall take and ſubſcribe an oath, to preſerve the Proteſtant religion and Preſbyterian church government in Scotland; the latter, that at his coronation he ſhall take and ſubſcribe a ſimilar oath, to preſerve the ſettlement of the church of England

England within England, Ireland, Wales, and Berwick, and the territories thereunto belonging.

The king of Great Britain, notwithſtanding the limitations or the power of the crown, already mentioned, is one of the greateſt monarchs reigning over a free people. His perſon is ſacred in the eye of the law, which makes it high treaſon ſo much as to imagine or intend his death; neither can he, in himſelf, be deemed guilty of any crime, the law taking no cognizance of his actions, but only in the perſons of his miniſters, if they infringe the laws of the land. As to his power, it has no bounds, (except where it breaks in upon the liberty and property of his ſubjects, as in making new laws, or raiſing new taxes) for he can make war or peace; ſend and receive ambaſſadors; make treaties of league and commerce; levy armies, fit out fleets, employ them as he thinks proper; grant commiſſions to his officers both by ſea and land, or revoke them at pleaſure; diſpoſe of all magazines, caſtles, &c. ſummon the parliament to meet, and, when met, adjourn, prorogue, or diſſolve it at pleaſure; refuſe his aſſent to any bill, though it hath paſſed both houſes; which, conſequently by ſuch a refuſal, has no more force than if it had never been moved. He poſſeſſeth the right of chuſing his own council; of nominating all the great officers of ſtate, of the houſhold, and the church; and, in fine, is the fountain of honour, from whom all degrees of nobility and knighthood are derived. Such is the dignity and power of a king of Great Britain.

Of the Parliament.

Parliaments, in ſome ſhape, are of as high antiquity as the Saxon government in this iſland; and have ſubſiſted, in their preſent form, at leaſt five hundred years.

The parliament is aſſembled by the king's writs, and it's ſitting muſt not be intermitted above three

years. Its conſtituent parts are, the king ſitting there in his royal political capacity, and the three eſtates of the realm; the lords ſpiritual, the lords temporal, (who ſit, together with the king, in one houſe) and the commons, who ſit by themſelves in another. The king and theſe three eſtates, together, form the great corporation or body politic of the kingdom, of which the king is ſaid to be *caput, principium, et finis.* For upon their coming together the king meets them, either in perſon or by repreſentation; without which there can be no beginning of a parliament; and he alſo has alone the power of diſſolving them.

It is highly neceſſary for preſerving the balance of the conſtitution, that the executive power ſhould be a branch, though not the whole, of the legiſlature. The crown cannot begin of itſelf any alterations in the preſent eſtabliſhed law; but it may approve or diſapprove of the alterations ſuggeſted and conſented to by the two houſes. The legiſlative therefore cannot abridge the executive power of any rights which it now has by law, without it's own conſent: ſince the law muſt perpetually ſtand as it now does, unleſs all the powers will agree to alter it. And herein indeed conſiſts the true excellence of the Engliſh government, that all the parts of it form a mutual check upon each other. In the legiſlature, the people are a check upon the nobility, and the nobility a check upon the people; by the mutual privilege of rejecting what the other has reſolved: while the king is a check upon both, which preſerves the executive power from encroachments.

The lords ſpiritual conſiſt of two archbiſhops and twenty-four biſhops. The lords temporal conſiſt of all the peers of the realm, the biſhops not being in ſtrictneſs held to be ſuch, but meerly lords of parliament. Some of theſe ſit by deſcent, as do all antient peers; ſome by creation, as do all the new-made ones; others, ſince the union with Scotland, by election, which is the caſe of the ſixteen peers, who

repreſent

repreſent the body of the Scots nobility. Their number is indefinite, and may be encreaſed at will by the power of the crown.

A body of nobility is more peculiarly neceſſary in our mixed and compounded conſtitution, in order to ſupport the rights of both the crown and the people; by forming a barrier to withſtand the encroachments of both. It creates and preſerves that gradual ſcale of dignity, which proceeds from the peaſant to the prince; riſing like a pyramid from a broad foundation, and diminiſhing to a point as it riſes. The nobility therefore are the pillars, which are reared from among the people, more immediately to ſupport the throne; and if that falls, they muſt alſo be buried under it's ruins. Accordingly, when in the laſt century the commons had determined to extirpate monarchy, they alſo voted the houſe of lords to be uſeleſs and dangerous.

The commons conſiſt of all ſuch men of any property in the kingdom, as have not ſeats in the houſe of lords; every one of which has a voice in parliament, either perſonally, or by his repreſentatives. In a free ſtate, every man, who is ſuppoſed a free agent, ought to be, in ſome meaſure, his own governor; and therefore a branch at leaſt of the legiſlative power ſhould reſide in the whole body of the people. In ſo large a ſtate as ours, it is very wiſely contrived, that the people ſhould do that by their repreſentatives, which it is impracticable to perform in perſon: repreſentatives, choſen by a number of minute and ſeparate diſtricts, wherein all the voters are, or eaſily may be, diſtinguiſhed. The counties are therefore repreſented by knights, elected by the proprietors of lands; the cities and boroughs are repreſented by citizens and burgeſſes, choſen by the mercantile part or ſuppoſed trading intereſt of the nation. The number of Engliſh repreſentatives is 513, and of Scots 45; in all 558. And every member, though choſen by one particular diſtrict, when elected and

returned, ſerves for the whole realm. For the end of his coming thither is not particular, but general; not barely to advantage his conſtituents, but the common wealth, and to adviſe his majeſty, as appears from the writ of ſummons.

Theſe are the conſtituent parts of a parliament, the king, the lords ſpiritual and temporal, and the commons. Parts, of which each is ſo neceſſary, that the conſent of all three is required to make any new law that ſhould bind the ſubject. Whatever is enacted for law by one, or by two only, of the three, is no ſtatute; and to it no regard is due, unleſs in matters relating to their own privileges.

The power and juriſdiction of parliament, ſays Sir Edward Coke, is ſo tranſcendent and abſolute, that it cannot be confined, either for cauſes or perſons, within any bounds. It hath ſovereign and uncontrolable authority in making, confirming, enlarging, reſtraining, abrogating, repealing, reviving, and expounding of laws, concerning matters of all poſſible denominations, eccleſiaſtical, or temporal, civil, military, maritime, or criminal: this being the place where that abſolute deſpotic power, which muſt in all governments reſide ſomewhere, is entruſted by the conſtitution of theſe kingdoms. All miſchiefs and grievances, operations and remedies, that tranſcend the ordinary courſe of the laws, are within the reach of this extraordinary tribunal. It can regulate or new model the ſucceſſion to the crown; as was done in the reign of Henry VIII. and William III. It can alter the eſtabliſhed religion of the land; as was done in a variety of inſtances, in the reigns of king Henry VIII. and his three children. It can change and create afreſh even the conſtitution of the kingdom and of parliaments themſelves; as was done by the act of union, and the ſeveral ſtatutes for triennial and ſeptennial elections. It can, in ſhort, do every thing that is not naturally impoſſible; and therefore ſome have not ſcrupled to call it's power, by a figure rather

rather too bold, the omnipotence of parliament. True it is, that what the parliament doth, no authority upon earth can undo. So that it is a matter moſt eſſential to the liberties of this kingdom, that ſuch members be delegated to this important truſt, as are moſt eminent for their probity, their fortitude, and their knowlege; for it was a known apothegm of the great lord treaſurer Burleigh, "that England "could never be ruined but by a parliament:" and, as Sir Matthew Hale obſerves, this being the higheſt and greateſt court, over which none other can have juriſdiction in the kingdom, if by any means a miſgovernment ſhould any way fall upon it, the ſubjects of this kingdom are left without all manner of remedy.

In order to prevent the miſchiefs that might ariſe, by placing this extenſive authority in hands that are either incapable, or elſe improper, to manage it, it is provided that no one ſhall ſit or vote in either houſe of parliament, unleſs he be twenty-one years of age. To prevent innovations in religion and government, it is enacted, that no member ſhall vote or ſit in either houſe, till he hath in the preſence of the houſe taken the oaths of allegiance, ſupremacy, and abjuration; and ſubſcribed and repeated the declaration againſt tranſubſtantiation, the invocation of ſaints, and the ſacrifice of the maſs. To prevent dangers that may ariſe to the kingdom from foreign attachments, connexions, or dependencies, it is enacted, that no alien, born out of the dominions of the crown of Great Britain, even though he be naturalized, ſhall be capable of being a member of either houſe of parliament.

Some of the more notorious privileges of the members of either houſe are, privilege of ſpeech, of perſon, of their domeſtics, and of their lands and goods. As to the firſt, privilege of ſpeech, it is declared by the ſtatute of 1 W. & M. ſt. 2. c. 2. as one of the liberties of the people, "that the freedom of "ſpeech,

" ſpeech, and debates, and proceedings in parlia-
" ment, ought not to be impeached or queſtioned in
" any court or place out of parliament." And this freedom of ſpeech is particularly demanded of the king in perſon, by the ſpeaker of the houſe of commons, at the opening of every new parliament. So likewiſe are the other privileges, of perſon, ſervants, lands and goods. This includes not only privilege from illegal violence, but alſo from legal arreſts, and ſeiſures by proceſs from the courts of law. To aſſault by violence a member of either houſe, or his menial ſervants, is a high contempt of parliament, and there puniſhed with the utmoſt ſeverity. Neither can any member of either houſe be arreſted and taken into cuſtody, nor ſerved with any proceſs of the courts of law; nor can his menial ſervants be arreſted; nor can any entry be made on his lands; nor can his goods be diſtrained or ſeized; without a breach of the privilege of parliament.

Theſe privileges however, which derogate from the common law, being only indulged to prevent the members being diverted from the public buſineſs, endure no longer than the ſeſſion of parliament, ſave only as to the freedom of his perſon: which in a peer is for ever ſacred and inviolable; and in a commoner for forty days after every prorogation, and forty days before the next appointed meeting; which is now in effect as long as the parliament ſubſiſts, it ſeldom being prorogued for more than fourſcore days at a time. As to all other privileges which obſtruct the ordinary courſe of juſtice, they ceaſe immediately after the diſſolution or prorogation of the parliament, or adjournment of the houſes for above a fortnight: and during theſe receſſes a peer, or member of the houſe of commons, may be ſued like an ordinary ſubject, and in conſequence of ſuch ſuits may be diſpoſſeſſed of his lands and goods. Likewiſe, for the benefit of commerce, it is provided, that any trader, having privilege of parliament, may be ſerved with legal

legal proceſs for any juſt debt, to the amount of 100l. and unleſs he makes ſatisfaction within two months, it ſhall be deemed an act of bankruptcy; and that commiſſions of bankrupt may be iſſued againſt ſuch privileged traders, in like manner as againſt any other.

The houſe of lords have a right to be attended, and conſequently are, by the judges of the court of king's bench and common-pleas, and ſuch of the barons of the exchequer as are of the degree of the coif, or have been made ſerjeants at law; as likewiſe by the maſters of the court of chancery; for their advice in point of law, and for the greater dignity of their proceedings.

The ſpeaker of the houſe of lords is generally the lord chancellor, or lord-keeper of the great ſeal, which dignities are commonly veſted in the ſame perſon.

Each peer has a right, by leave of the houſe, when a vote paſſes contrary to his ſentiments, to enter his diſſent on the journals of the houſe, with the reaſons for ſuch diſſent; which is uſually ſtiled his proteſt.

The houſe of commons may be properly ſtiled the grand inqueſt of Great Britain, impowered to enquire into all national grievances, in order to ſee them redreſſed.

The peculiar laws and cuſtoms of the houſe of commons relate principally to the raiſing of taxes, and the elections of members to ſerve in parliament.

With regard to taxes: it is the antient indiſputable privilege and right of the houſe of commons, that all grants of ſubſidies or parliamentary aids do begin in their houſe, and are firſt beſtowed by them; altho' their grants are not effectual to all intents and purpoſes, until they have the aſſent of the other two branches of the legiſlature. The general reaſon, given for this excluſive privilege of the houſe of commons, is, that the ſupplies are raiſed upon the body of the people, and therefore it is proper that they

alone ſhould have the right of taxing themſelves. And ſo reaſonably jealous are the commons of this privilege, that herein they will not ſuffer the other houſe to exert any power but that of rejecting; they will not permit the leaſt alteration or amendment to be made by the lords to the mode of taxing the people by a money bill. Under this appellation are included all bills, by which money is directed to be raiſed upon the ſubject, for any purpoſe or in any ſhape whatſoever; either for the exigencies of government, and collected from the kingdom in general, as the land tax; or for private benefit, and collected in any particular diſtrict, as by turnpikes, pariſh rates, and the like.

The method of making laws is much the ſame in both houſes. In each houſe the act of the majority binds the whole: and this majority is declared by votes openly and publicly given: not as at Venice, and many other ſenatorial aſſemblies, privately or by ballot. This latter method may be ſerviceable, to prevent intrigues and unconſtitutional combinations: but is impoſſible to be practiſed with us; at leaſt in the houſe of commons, where every member's conduct is ſubject to the future cenſure of his conſtituents, and therefore ſhould be openly ſubmitted to their inſpection.

To bring a bill into the houſe of commons, if the relief ſought by it is of a private nature, it is firſt neceſſary to prefer a petition; which muſt be preſented by a member, and uſually ſets forth the grievance deſired to be remedied. This petition (when founded on facts that may be in their nature diſputed) is referred to a committee of members, who examine the matter alleged, and accordingly report it to the houſe; and then (or, otherwiſe, upon the meer petition) leave is given to bring in the bill. In public matters the bill is brought in upon motion made to the houſe, without any petition. (In the houſe of lords, if the bill begins there, it is, when of a private nature, referred

to

to two of the judges, to examine and report the ſtate of the facts alleged, to ſee that all neceſſary parties conſent, and to ſettle all points of technical propriety.) This is read a firſt time, and at a convenient diſtance a ſecond time; and after each reading the ſpeaker opens to the houſe the ſubſtance of the bill, and puts the queſtion, whether it ſhall proceed any farther. The introduction of the bill may be originally oppoſed, as the bill itſelf may at either of the readings; and, if the oppoſition ſucceeds, the bill muſt be dropt for that ſeſſions; as it muſt alſo, if oppoſed with ſucceſs in any of the ſubſequent ſtages.

After the ſecond reading it is committed, that is, referred to a committee; which is either ſelected by the houſe in matters of ſmall importance, or elſe, upon a bill of conſequence, the houſe reſolves itſelf into a committee of the whole houſe. A committee of the whole houſe is compoſed of every member; and, to form it, the ſpeaker quits the chair, (another member being appointed chairman) and may ſit and debate as a private member. In theſe committees the bill is debated clauſe by clauſe, amendments made, the blanks filled up, and ſometimes the bill entirely new modelled. After it has gone through the committee, the chairman reports it to the houſe with ſuch amendments as the committee have made; and then the houſe reconſider the whole bill again, and the queſtion is repeatedly put upon every clauſe and amendment. When the houſe have agreed or diſagreed to the amendments of the committee, and ſometimes added new amendments of their own, the bill is then ordered to be engroſſed, or written in a ſtrong groſs hand, on one or more long rolls of parchments ſewed together. When this is finiſhed, it is read a third time, and amendments are ſometimes then made to it; and, if a new clauſe be added, it is done by tacking a ſeparate piece of parchment on the bill, which is called a ryder. The ſpeaker then again opens the contents; and, holding it up

in his hands, puts the queſtion, whether the bill ſhall paſs. If this is agreed to, the title to it is then ſettled. After this, one of the members is directed to carry it to the lords, and deſire their concurrence; who attended by ſeveral more, carries it to the bar of the houſe of peers, and there delivers it to their ſpeaker, who comes down from his woolſack to receive it. It there paſſes through the forms as in the other houſe, (except engroſſing, which is already done) and, if rejected, no more notice is taken, but it paſſes *ſub ſilentio*, to prevent unbecoming altercations. But if it is agreed to, the lords ſend a meſſage by two maſters in chancery (or ſometimes two of the judges) that they have agreed to the ſame: and the bill remains with the lords, if they have made no amendment to it. But if any amendments are made, ſuch amendments are ſent down with the bill to receive the concurrence of the commons. If the commons diſagree to the amendments, a conference uſually follows between members deputed from each houſe; who for the moſt part ſettle and adjuſt the difference: but, if both houſes remain inflexible, the bill is dropped. If the commons agree to the amendments, the bill is ſent back to the lords by one of the members, with a meſſage to acquaint them therewith. The ſame forms are obſerved, *mutatis mutandis*, when the bill begins in the houſe of lords. But, when an act of grace or pardon is paſſed, it is firſt ſigned by his majeſty, and then read once only in each of the houſes, without any new engroſſing or amendment. And when both houſes have done with any bill, it always is depoſited in the houſe of peers, to wait the royal aſſent; except in the caſe of a money-bill, which after receiving the concurrence of the lords is ſent back to the houſe of commons.

The royal aſſent may be given two ways: 1. In perſon: when the king comes to the houſe of peers, in his crown and royal robes, and ſending for the commons to the bar, the titles of all the bills that have

have paſſed both houſes are read; and the king's anſwer is declared by the clerk of the parliament in Norman-French: a badge, it muſt be owned, (now the only one remaining) of conqueſt; and which one could wiſh to ſee fall into total oblivion; unleſs it be reſerved as a ſolemn *memento* to remind us that our liberties are mortal, having once been deſtroyed by a foreign force. If the king conſents to a public bill, the clerk uſually declares, *le roy le veut*, "the king wills it ſo to be;" if to a private bill, *ſoit fait come il eſt deſirè*, "be it as it is deſired." If the king refuſes his aſſent, it is in the gentle language of *le roy ſ' aviſera*, "the king will adviſe upon it." When a money-bill is paſſed, it is carried up and preſented to the king by the ſpeaker of the houſe of commons, and the royal aſſent is thus expreſſed, *le roy remercie ſes loyal ſubjects, accepte lour benevolence, et auſſi le veut*, "the king thanks his loyal ſubjects, accepts their benevolence, and wills it ſo to be." In caſe of an act of grace, which originally proceeds from the crown, and has the royal aſſent in the firſt ſtage of it, the clerk of the parliament thus pronounces the gratitude of the ſubject; *les prelats, ſeigneurs, et commons, en ce preſent parliament aſſemblees, au nom de touts vous autres ſubjects, remercient tres humblement votre majeſte, et prient a Dieu vous donner en ſante bone vie et longue*; "the prelates, lords, and commons, in this preſent parliament aſſembled, in the name of all your other ſubjects, moſt humbly thank your majeſty, and pray to God to grant you in health and wealth long to live." 2. By the ſtatute 33 Hen. VIII. c. 21. the king may give his aſſent by letters patent under his great ſeal, ſigned with his hand, and notified, in his abſence, to both houſes aſſembled together in the high houſe. And, when the bill has received the royal aſſent in either of theſe ways, it is then, and not before, a ſtatute or act of parliament.

This ſtatute or act is placed among the records of the kingdom; there needing no forma promulgation

to give it the force of a law, as was neceſſary by the civil law with regard to the emperors edicts: becauſe every man in England is, in judgment of law, party to the making of an act of parliament, being preſent thereat by his repreſentatives. However, a copy thereof is uſually printed at the king's preſs, for the information of the whole land.

An act of parliament, thus made, is the exerciſe of the higheſt authority that this kingdom acknowleges upon earth. It hath power to bind every ſubject in the land, and the dominions thereunto belonging; nay, even the king himſelf, if particularly named therein. And it cannot be altered, amended, diſpenſed with, ſuſpended, or repealed, but in the ſame forms and by the ſame authority of parliament: for it is a maxim in law, that it requires the ſame ſtrength to diſſolve, as to create an obligation.

Such is the parliament of Great Britain; the ſource and guardian of our liberties and properties, the ſtrong cement which binds the foundation and ſuperſtructure of our government, and the wiſely concerted balance maintaining an equal poiſe, that no one part of the three eſtates overpower or diſtreſs either of the other.

Privy counſellors are made by the king's nomination, without either patent or grant; and, on taking the neceſſary oaths, they become immediately privy counſellors during the life of the king that chooſes them, but ſubject to removal at his diſcretion.

The duty of a privy counſellor appears from the oath of office, which conſiſts of ſeven articles: 1. To adviſe the king according to the beſt of his cunning and diſcretion. 2. To adviſe for the king's honour and good of the public, without partiality through affection, love, meed, doubt, or dread. 3. To keep the king's counſel ſecret. 4. To avoid corruption. 5. To help and ſtrengthen the execution of what ſhall be there reſolved 6. To withſtand all perſons who would attempt the contrary. And, laſtly, in general,

general, 7. To obſerve, keep, and do all that a good and true counſellor ought to do to his ſovereign lord.

The two principal ſecretaries of ſtate (one of whom is generally preſent whenever the council is held) are entruſted with the cuſtody of the king's ſignet. They jointly tranſact the king's affairs relating to Great Britain; but as to thoſe concerning foreign nations, they are divided between them; the eldeſt ſecretary having the ſouthern province, containing Flanders, France, &c. aſſigned to his management; and the younger ſecretary manages the northern province, containing ſuch nations as lie north of thoſe already mentioned.

Of the Courts of Law, &c.

The court of Chancery, which is a court of equity, is next in dignity to the high court of parliament, and is deſigned to relieve the ſubject againſt frauds, breaches of truſt, and other oppreſſions; and to mitigate the rigour of the law. The lord high chancellor ſits as ſole judge, and in his abſence the maſter of the Rolls. The form of proceeding is by bills, anſwers, and decrees, the witneſſes being examined in private: however, the decrees of this court are only binding to the perſons of thoſe concerned in them, for they do not affect their lands and goods; and conſequently, if a man refuſes to comply with the terms, they can do nothing more than ſend him to the priſon of the Fleet. This court is always open; and if a man be ſent to priſon, the lord chancellor, in any vacation, can, if he ſees reaſon for it, grant a *habeas corpus*.

The clerk of the crown likewiſe belongs to this court, being obliged, or by his deputy, always to attend on the lord chancellor as often as he ſits for the diſpatch of buſineſs; through his hands paſs all writs for ſummoning the parliament or chuſing of members; commiſſions of the peace, pardons, &c.

The King's Bench, ſo called either from the kings of England ſometimes ſitting there in perſon, or be-

cauſe all matters determinable at common law between the king and the ſubject, are here tried; except ſuch affairs as properly belong to the court of Exchequer. This court is, likewiſe, a kind of cheque upon all the inferior courts, their judges and juſtices of the peace. Here preſide four judges, the firſt of whom is ſtiled lord chief juſtice of the king's bench, or by way of eminence, lord chief juſtice of England, to expreſs the great extent of his juriſdiction over the kingdom: for this court can grant prohibitions in any cauſe depending either in ſpiritual or temporal courts; and the houſe of peers does often direct the lord chief juſtice to iſſue out his warrant for apprehending perſons under the ſuſpicion of high crimes. The other three judges are called juſtices, or judges, of the king's bench.

The court of Common Pleas takes cognizance of all pleas debateable between ſubject and ſubject; and in it, beſide all real actions, fines and recoveries are tranſacted, and prohibitions are likewiſe iſſued out of it, as well as from the King's Bench. The firſt judge of this court is ſtiled lord chief juſtice of the common pleas, or common bench; beſide whom there are likewiſe three other judges, or juſtices, of this court. None but ſerjeants at law are allowed to plead here.

The court of Exchequer was inſtituted for managing the revenues of the crown, and has a power of judging both according to law and according to equity. In the proceedings according to law, the lord chief baron of the Exchequer, and three other barons, preſide as judges. They are ſtiled barons, becauſe formerly none but barons of the realm were allowed to be judges in this court. Beſide theſe, there is a fifth called curſitor baron, who has not a judicial capacity, but is only employed in adminiſtring the oath to ſheriffs and their officers, and alſo to ſeveral of the officers of the Cuſtom-houſe.—But when this court proceeds according to equity, then the lord treaſurer and the chancellor of the Exchequer preſide, aſſiſted by the other barons. All matters touching the king's trea-

treaſury, revenue, cuſtoms, and fines, are here tried and determined.——Beſide the officers already mentioned there belong to the Exchequer, the king's remembrancer, who takes and ſtates all accounts of the revenue, cuſtoms, exciſe, parliamentary aids and ſubſidies, &c. except the accounts of the ſheriffs and their officers. The lord treaſurer's remembrancer, whoſe buſineſs it is to make out proceſſes againſt ſheriffs, receivers of the revenue, &c.

For putting the laws effectually in execution, an high ſheriff is annually appointed for every county (except Weſtmorland and Cumberland) by the king; whoſe office is both miniſterial and judicial. He is to execute the king's mandates, and all writs directed to him out of the king's courts of juſtice; to impannel juries, to bring cauſes and malefactors to trial, to ſee the ſentences both in civil and criminal affairs, executed. And at the aſſize to attend on the judges, and guard them all the time they are in his county. It is alſo part of his office to collect all public fines, diſtreſſes, and amerciaments, into the Exchequer, or where the king ſhall appoint, and to make ſuch payments out of them as his majeſty ſhall think proper.

As his office is judicial, he keeps a court, called the county court, which is held by the ſheriff, or his under-ſheriffs, to hear and determine all civil cauſes in the county under forty ſhillings; this however is no court of record; but the court, formerly called the ſheriff's turn, was one; and the king's leet, thro' all the county: for in this court, enquiry was made into all criminal offences againſt the common law, where by the ſtatute law there was no reſtraint. This court, however, has been long ſince aboliſhed.

Under the ſheriff are various officers, as the under-ſheriff, clerks, ſtewards of courts, bailiffs, (in London called ſerjeants) conſtables, gaolers, beadles, &c.

The next officer to the ſheriff, is the juſtice of peace, ſeveral of whom are commiſſioned for each county: and to them is intruſted the power of putting great part of the ſtatute law in execution in relation

tion to the highways, the poor, vagrants, treaſons, felonies, riots, the preſervation of the game, &c. &c. and they examine and commit to priſon all who break or diſturb the peace, and diſquiet the king's ſubjects. In order to puniſh the offenders, they meet every quarter at the county-town, when a jury of 12 men, called the grand inqueſt of the county, is ſummoned to appear. This jury, upon oath, is to enquire into the caſes of all delinquents, and to preſent them by bill guilty of the indictment, or not guilty: the juſtices commit the former to gaol for their trial at the next aſſizes, and the latter are acquitted. This is called the quarter-ſeſſions for the county. The juſtice of peace ought to be a perſon of great good ſenſe, ſagacity, and integrity, and to be not without ſome knowlege of the law; for as much power is lodged in his hands, and as nothing is ſo intoxicating, without theſe qualifications he will be apt to make miſtakes, and to ſtep beyond his authority, for which he is liable to be called to an account at the court of king's bench.

There are alſo in each county two coroners, who are to enquire by a jury of neighbours, how and by whom any perſon came by a violent death, and to enter it on record as a plea of the crown.

The civil government of cities is a kind of ſmall independent policy of itſelf; for every city hath, by charter from the king, a juriſdiction within itſelf to judge in all matters civil and criminal; with this reſtraint only, that all civil cauſes may be removed from their courts to the higher courts at Weſtminſter; and all offences that are capital, are committed to the judge of the aſſize. They are conſtituted with a mayor, aldermen, and burgeſſes, who together make the corporation of the city, and hold a court of judicature, where the mayor preſides as judge. They likewiſe, when aſſembled in council, can make laws, called bye-laws, for the government of the city. And here the mayor, aldermen, and common-council reſemble the king, lords and commons in parliament.

The

The government of incorporated boroughs is much after the ſame manner; in ſome there is a mayor, and in others two bailiffs. All which, during their mayoralty or magiſtracy, are juſtices of the peace within their liberties, and conſequently eſquires.

For the better government of villages, the lords of the ſoil or manor (who were formerly called barons) have generally a power to hold courts, called courts-leet, and courts baron, where their tenants are obliged to attend and receive juſtice. The buſineſs of courts-leet is chiefly to preſent and puniſh nuiſances; and at courts baron, the conveyances and alienations of the copyhold tenants are enrolled, and they are admitted to their eſtates on a deſcent or purchaſe.

There are alſo high conſtables appointed for the diviſions called hundreds, and petty conſtables in every pariſh; whoſe buſineſs it is to keep the peace, and in caſe of quarrels to ſearch for and take up all rioters, felons, &c. and to keep them in the priſon or in ſafe cuſtody, till they can be brought before a juſtice of the peace; and in this he is aſſiſted by another officer, called the tithing-man. It is likewiſe the buſineſs of theſe officers to put in execution within their diſtrict, all warrants that are brought them from the juſtice of the peace.

Beſide theſe, there are courts of conſcience ſettled in many parts of England for the relief of the poor, in the recovery or payment of ſmall debts, not exceeding forty ſhillings.

The rights of individuals are ſo attentively conſidered under the Britiſh government, that the ſubject may, without the leaſt danger, ſue his ſovereign, or thoſe who act in his name, and under his authority; he may do this in open court, where the king may be caſt, and be obliged to pay damages to his ſubject. He cannot take away the liberty of the leaſt individual, unleſs he has by ſome illegal act forfeited his right to liberty, or except when the ſtate is in danger, and the repreſentatives of the people think the public

ſafety

ſafety makes it neceſſary that he ſhould have the power of confining perſons, on a ſuſpicion of guilt: but this power is always given him only for a limited time. The king has a right to pardon, but neither he nor the judges, to whom he delegates his authority, can condemn a man as a criminal, except he be firſt found guilty, by twelve men, who muſt be his peers or his equals. That the judges may not be influenced by the king, or his miniſters, to miſrepreſent the caſe to the jury, they have their ſalaries for life, and not during the pleaſure of their ſovereign. Neither can the king take away, or endanger the life of any ſubject, without trial, and the perſons being firſt chargeable with a capital crime, as treaſons, murder, felony, or ſome other act injurious to ſociety: nor can any ſubject be deprived of his liberty for the higheſt crime, till ſome proof of his guilt be given upon oath before a magiſtrate; and he has then a right to inſiſt upon his being brought, the firſt opportunity, to a fair trial, or to be reſtored to liberty on giving bail for his appearance. If a man is charged with a capital offence, he muſt not undergo the ignominy of being tried for his life, till the evidences of his guilt are laid before the grand jury of the town or county in which the fact is alleged to be committed, and not without twelve of them agreeing to a bill of indictment againſt him. If they do this, he is to ſtand a ſecond trial before twelve other men, whoſe opinion is definitive. In ſome caſes, the man (who is always ſuppoſed innocent till there is ſufficient proof of his guilt) is allowed a copy of his indictment, in order to help him to make his defence. He is alſo furniſhed with the pannel, or liſt of the jury, who are his true and proper judges, that he may learn their characters, and diſcover whether they want abilities, or whether they are prejudiced againſt him. He may in open court peremptorily object to twenty of the number *, and to as many more as he can give

* The party may challenge thirty-five in caſe of treaſon.

reaſon

reaſon for their not being admitted as his judges; till at laſt twelve unexceptionable men, the neighbours of the party accuſed, or living near the place where the ſuppoſed fact was committed, are ſworn, to give a true verdict according to the evidence produced in court. By challenging the jury, the priſoner prevents all poſſibility of bribery, or the influence of any ſuperior power: by their living near the place where the fact was committed, they are ſuppoſed to be men who know the priſoner's courſe of life, and the credit of the evidence. Theſe only are the judges, from whoſe ſentence the priſoner is to expect life or death, and upon their integrity and underſtanding, the lives of all that are brought in danger ultimately depend; and from their judgment there lies no appeal: they are therefore to be all of one mind, and after they have fully heard the evidence, are to be confined without meat, drink, or candle, till they are unanimous in acquitting or condemning the priſoner. Every juryman is therefore inveſted with a ſolemn and awful truſt: if he without evidence ſubmits his opinion to that of any of the other jury, or yields in complaiſance to the opinion of the judge; if he neglects to examine with the utmoſt care; if he queſtions the veracity of the witneſſes, who may be of an infamous character; or after the moſt impartial hearing has the leaſt doubt upon his mind, and yet joins in condemning the perſon accuſed; he will wound his own conſcience, and bring upon himſelf the complicated guilt of perjury and murder. The freedom of Engliſhmen conſiſts in its being out of the power of the judge * on the bench to injure them, for declaring

* "Some jurymen, ſays Mr. Clare, in his Engliſh Liberties, "may be apt to ſay, that if we could not find as the judge directs, "we may come into trouble, the judge may fine us, &c. I anſwer, no judge dares offer any ſuch thing; you are the proper "judges of the matters before you, and your ſouls are at ſtake; "you ought to act freely, and are not bound, though the court de-

" mand

in[illegible]an innocent, whom he wiſhes to be brought in guilty. Was not this the caſe, juries would be uſeleſs; ſo far from being judges themſelves, they would only be the tools of another, whoſe province it is not to guide, but to give a ſanction to their determination. Tyranny might triumph over the lives and liberties of the ſubject, and the judge on the bench be the miniſter of the prince's vengeance.

Theſe are the glorious privileges which we enjoy above any other nation upon earth. Juries have always been conſidered as giving the moſt effectual check to tyranny; for in a nation like this, where a king can do nothing againſt law, they are a ſecurity that he ſhall never make the laws, by a bad adminiſtration, the inſtruments of cruelty and oppreſſion. Was it not for juries, the advice given by father Paul, in his maxims of the republic of Venice, might take effect in its fulleſt latitude. "When the offence "is committed by a nobleman againſt a ſubject, ſays "he, let all ways be tried to juſtify him; and if that "is not poſſible to be done, let him be chaſtiſed with "greater noiſe than damage. If it be a ſubject that "has affronted a nobleman, let him be puniſhed with "the utmoſt ſeverity, that the ſubject may not get "too great a cuſtom of laying their hands on the "patrician order." In ſhort, was it not for juries,

"mand it, to give the reaſon why you bring it in thus or thus; for "you of the grand jury are ſworn to the contrary, viz. to keep "ſecret your fellows counſel and your own; and you of the petty "jury are no way obliged to declare your motives, for it may not "be convenient. In queen Elizabeth's days, a man was arraigned "for murder before juſtice Anderſon; the evidence was ſo ſtrong, "that eleven of the twelve were preſently for finding him guilty, "the twelfth man refuſed, and kept them ſo long that they were "ready to ſtarve, and at laſt made them comply with him, and "bring in the priſoner not guilty. The judge, who had ſeve-"ral times admoniſhed him to join with his fellows, being ſurpriſ-"ed, ſent for him, and diſcourſed him privately; to whom, upon "promiſe of indemnity, he at laſt owned, that he himſelf was the "man that did the murder, and the priſoner was innocent, and "that he was reſolved not to add perjury, and a ſecond murder to "the firſt."

a corrupt nobleman might, whenever he pleaſed, act the tyrant, while the judge would have that power which is now denied to our kings. But by our happy conſtitution, which breathes nothing but liberty and equity, all imaginary indulgence is allowed to the meaneſt, as well as the greateſt. When a priſoner is brought to take his trial, he is freed from all bonds; and though the judges are ſuppoſed to be counſel for the priſoner, yet, as he may be incapable of vindicating his own cauſe, other counſel are allowed him; he may try the validity and legality of the indictment, and may ſet it aſide, if it be contrary to law. Nothing is wanting to clear up the cauſe of innocence, and to prevent the ſufferer from ſinking under the power of corrupt judges, and the oppreſſion of the great. The racks and tortures that are cruelly made uſe of in other parts of Europe, to make a man accuſe himſelf, are here unknown, and none puniſhed without conviction, but he who refuſes to plead in his own defence.

As the trial of malefactors in England is very different from that of other nations, the following account thereof may be uſeful to foreigners and others, who have not ſeen thoſe proceedings.

The court being met, and the priſoner called to the bar, the clerk commands him to hold up his hand, then charges him with the crime of which he is accuſed, and aſks him whether he is *guilty* or *not guilty*. If the priſoner anſwers *guilty*, his trial is at an end; but if he anſwers *not guilty*, the court proceeds on the trial, even tho' he may before have confeſſed the fact: for the law of England takes no notice of ſuch confeſſion; and unleſs the witneſſes, who are upon oath, prove him guilty of the crime, the jury muſt acquit him, for they are directed to bring in their verdict according to the evidence given in court. If the priſoner refuſes to plead, that is, if he will not ſay in court, whether he is *guilty* or *not guilty*, he is by the law of England to be preſſed to death.

When

When the witneſſes have given in their evidence, and the priſoner has, by himſelf or his counſel, croſs examined them, the judge recites to the jury the ſubſtance of the evidence given againſt the priſoner, and bids them diſcharge their conſcience; when, if the matter be very clear, they commonly give their verdict without going out of court; and the foreman, for himſelf and the reſt, declares the priſoner *guilty*, or *not guilty*, as it may happen to be. But if any doubt ariſes among the jury, and the matter requires debate, they all withdraw into a room with a copy of the indictment, where they are locked up, till they are unanimouſly agreed on the verdict; and if any one of the jury ſhould die during this their confinement, the priſoner will be acquitted.

When the jury have agreed on the verdict, they inform the court thereof by an officer who waits without, and the priſoner is again ſet to the bar, to hear his verdict. This is unalterable, except in ſome doubtful caſes, when the verdict is brought in ſpecial, and is therefore to be determined by the twelve judges of England.

If the priſoner is found guilty, he is then aſked what reaſon he can give why ſentence of death ſhould not be paſſed upon him? If it be the firſt fault, and his offence be within the ſtatute made for that purpoſe, he may demand the benefit of the clergy, which ſaves his life, and he will be only burnt in the hand. But where the benefit of the clergy is not admitted, the ſentence of death, after a ſummary account of the trial, is pronounced on the priſoner, in theſe words: *The law is, That thou ſhalt return to the place from whence thou cameſt, and from thence be carried to the place of execution, where thou ſhalt hang by the neck, till thy body be dead, and the Lord have mercy on thy ſoul:* whereupon the ſheriff is charged with the execution.

All priſoners found *not guilty* by the jury, are immediately acquitted and diſcharged, and in ſome caſes obtain a copy of their indictment from the court to proceed at law againſt their proſecutors.

Of

Of Puniſhments.

Though the laws of England are eſteemed more merciful, with reſpect to offenders, than thoſe which at preſent ſubſiſt in any other part of the known world; yet the puniſhment of ſuch who at their trial refuſe to plead guilty or not guilty, is here very cruel. In this caſe the priſoner is laid upon his back, and his arms and legs being ſtretched out with cords, and a conſiderable weight laid upon his breaſt, he is allowed only three morſels of barley bread, which is given him the next day without drink, after which he is allowed nothing but foul water till he expires. This, however, is a puniſhment which is ſcarcely inflicted once in an age; but ſome offenders have choſe it to preſerve their eſtates for their children. Thoſe guilty of this crime are not now ſuffered to undergo ſuch a length of torture, but have ſo great a weight placed upon them, that they ſoon expire. In caſe of high treaſon, though the criminal ſtands mute, judgment is given againſt him as if he had been convicted, and his eſtate is confiſcated.

The law of England includes all capital crimes under high treaſon, petty treaſon, and felony. The firſt conſiſts in plotting, conſpiring, or riſing up in arms againſt the ſovereign, or in counterfeiting the coin. The traitor is puniſhed by being drawn on a ſledge to the place of execution, when, after being hanged upon a gallows for ſome minutes, the body is cut down alive, the heart taken out and expoſed to public view, and the entrails burnt: the head is then cut off, and the body quartered, after which the head is uſually fixed on ſome conſpicuous place. All the criminal's lands and goods are forfeited, his wife loſes her dowry, and his children both their eſtates and nobility.

But though coining of money is adjudged high treaſon, the criminal is only drawn upon a ſledge to the place of execution, and there hanged.

Though the ſentence paſſed upon all traitors is the ſame, yet with reſpect to perſons of quality, the puniſhment is generally altered to beheading: a ſcaffold is erected for that purpoſe, on which the criminal placing his head upon a block, it is ſtruck off with an axe*.

The puniſhment for miſpriſion of high treaſon, that is, for neglecting or concealing it, is impriſonment for life, the forfeiture of all the offender's goods, and of the profits ariſing from his lands.

Petty treaſon is when a child kills his father, a wife her huſband, a clergyman his biſhop, or a ſervant his maſter or miſtreſs. This crime is puniſhed by being drawn in a ſledge to the place of execution, and there hanged upon a gallows till the criminal is dead. Women guilty both of this crime, and of high treaſon, are ſentenced to be burnt alive, but inſtead of ſuffering the full rigour of the law, they are ſtrangled at the ſtake before the fire takes hold of them.

Felony includes murders, robberies, forging notes, bonds, deeds, &c. Theſe are all puniſhed by hanging, only murderers are to be executed ſoon after the ſentence is paſſed; and then delivered to the ſurgeons in order to be publicly diſſected. Perſons guilty of robbery, when there are ſome alleviating circumſtances, are ſometimes tranſported for a term of years to his majeſty's plantations. And in all ſuch felonies where the benefit of the clergy is allowed, as it is in many, the criminal is burnt in the hand with a hot iron.

Other crimes puniſhed by the laws are,

Manſlaughter, which is the unlawful killing of a perſon without premeditated malice, but with a preſent intent to kill; as when two who formerly meant no harm to each other, quarrel, and the one kills the

* This is not to be conſidered as a different puniſhment; but as a remiſſion of all the parts of the ſentence mentioned before, excepting the article of beheading.

other;

ether; in this caſe, the criminal is allowed the benefit of his clergy for the firſt time, and only burnt in the hand.

Chance-medley, is the accidental killing of a man without an evil intent, for which the offender is alſo to be burnt in the hand; unleſs the offender was doing an unlawful act, which laſt circumſtance makes the puniſhment death.

Shop-lifting, and receiving goods knowing them to be ſtolen, are puniſhed with tranſportation to his majeſty's colonies, or burning in the hand.

Perjury, or keeping diſorderly houſes, are puniſhed with the pillory and impriſonment.

Petty-larceny, or ſmall theft, under the value of twelve-pence, is puniſhed by whipping.

Libelling, uſing falſe weights and meaſures, and foreſtalling the market, are commonly puniſhed with ſtanding on the pillory, or whipping.

For ſtriking, ſo as to draw blood, in the king's court, the criminal is puniſhed with loſing his right-hand.

For ſtriking in Weſtminſter-hall while the courts of juſtice are ſitting, is impriſonment for life, and forfeiture of all the offender's eſtate.

Drunkards, vagabonds, and looſe, idle, diſorderly perſons, are puniſhed by being ſet in the ſtocks, or by paying a fine.

Of the Religion of England.

Chriſtianity was very early planted in England, but when, or by whom, is very uncertain; probably in the latter end of the firſt, or the beginning of the ſecond century. The reformation in England, begun in the reign of Henry VIII. was greatly promoted under his ſon Edward VI. It was, however, checked by queen Mary, but compleated by queen Elizabeth. This reformation being conducted by the biſhops, the eſtabliſhed church of England became Epiſcopal.

Calvin indeed uſed many endeavours to obtain a ſhare in the advancement and direction of this eccleſiaſtical reformation; but being deſirous of depriving the biſhops of their temporal grandeur, of baniſhing all external ornaments and pomp from divine worſhip, and introducing the Genevan conſtitution; the biſhops declined his offers of aſſiſtance. Many, however, approving of Calvin's doctrine, formed an eccleſiaſtical government on his plan. Theſe were afterward termed Puritans, from their avowed deſire of freeing the church from the impurities ſtill retained in it, and Nonconformiſts, from their not conforming to the rules of the eſtabliſhed church. Agreeably to Calvin's model, they inſtituted preſbyters without biſhops, from whence they obtained the name of Preſbyterians; inſtituting alſo church-laws among themſelves, and being governed by ſynods compoſed of the miniſters of ſeveral different churches. Others maintaining, that every Chriſtian congregation ought to be free, and ſubject neither to biſhops nor ſynods, theſe were termed Independents.

The Epiſcopalians and Preſbyterians are the two principal parties, and differ the leaſt from each other; the firſt form the eſtabliſhed religion of England and Ireland, and the latter of Scotland. The moſt numerous of the other religious ſects are the Baptiſts, who do not believe that infants are the proper ſubjects of baptiſm, and in the baptiſm of adults practiſe immerſion. It is here proper to obſerve, that the Engliſh Preſbyterians differ almoſt as much from the church of Scotland, as from the church of England; ſynods growing gradually out of uſe, each ſeparate congregation is become, in a manner, independent of the reſt: they have moſt of them forſaken the opinions of Calvin, and believing univerſal redemption, maintain that the univerſal Parent has excluded none of his offspring from a poſſibility of ſalvation; while the Independents, and many congregations of the Baptiſts, agree with the church of Scotland

Scotland in the doctrines of particular election and reprobation. It muſt alſo be added, that the preſbyterians, with the church of England, receive the ſacrament of the Lord's ſupper at noon, while the Independents and Baptiſts receive it after the concluſion of the afternoon ſervice.

One of the principal of the other ſects is the Quakers, who profeſs to be guided by an internal revelation dictated by the Spirit of God: they have no regular miniſters, and neither practiſe baptiſm, nor commemorate the death of Chriſt in the Lord's Supper.

The Methodiſts have lately ariſen, and now form a very numerous body; moſt of them are alſo members of the church of England, and profeſs to adhere more cloſely than the other members of that church to the thirty-nine articles; and the greateſt part of them are rigid Calviniſts.

The number of Papiſts here is alſo very conſiderable, particularly in Lancaſhire, Staffordſhire, and Suſſex.

Many authors have exclaimed, with great heat, of the many ſects in England; but let it be conſidered, that civil and religious liberty are cloſely connected; and that it does not become any church, who makes no pretenſions to infallibility, to ſet up the ſtandard of perſecution.

But to return: the church of England is under the government of two archbiſhops and twenty-five biſhops, who are ſubject to the king as ſupream temporal head of the church. The archbiſhop of Canterbury is ſtiled the firſt peer and metropolitan of the kingdom; he takes place immediately after the royal family, and conſequently precedes not only all dukes, but likewiſe the great officers of ſtate. In addreſſes to him he enjoys the title of Your grace, in common with dukes, and alſo that of moſt reverend father in God. He has the power of holding juridical courts in church affairs, with many other privileges relating to the granting of licenſes and diſpenſations, in all

caſes formerly ſued for at the court of Rome, where they are not repugnant to the law of God, or the king's prerogative. He has alſo within his province, by common law, the probate of all wills, where the party dying is worth upward of five pounds. He has under him twenty-one biſhops, beſide his own particular dioceſe; theſe are the biſhops of London, Wincheſter, Ely, Lincoln, Rocheſter, Litchfield and Coventry, Hereford, Worceſter, Bath and Wells, Saliſbury, Exeter, Chicheſter, Norwich, Glouceſter, Oxford, Peterborough, Briſtol; and in Wales, St. David's, Landaff, St. Aſaph, and Bangor.

The archbiſhop of York likewiſe takes the precedence of all dukes who are not of the blood royal; as alſo of all the great officers of ſtate, excepting the lord chancellor, who is immediately next in rank to the archbiſhop of Canterbury. In his dioceſe he is ſtiled primate of England and metropolitan; he alſo enjoys the title of his grace, and moſt reverend father in God. Excluſive of his own dioceſe, in his province are Durham, Carliſle, Cheſter, and Sodor and Man. In Northumberland he has the power of a palatine, and juriſdiction in all criminal proceedings.

The twenty-five biſhops are ſtiled right reverend, and your lordſhip; all theſe walk next after the viſcounts, and precede the barons. In parliament they ſit in a double capacity, as biſhops and barons; they alſo enjoy many other privileges, as freedom from arreſts, outlawries, &c. They live in great ſtate; their revenues are alſo conſiderable; but where the income is not very large, ſome other lucrative preferment, as a deanry, is generally annexed to it.

The buſineſs of a biſhop is to examine and ordain prieſts and deacons, to conſecrate churches and burying-places, and to adminiſter the rite of confecration. The juriſdiction of a biſhop relates to the probation of wills; he is to grant adminiſtration of goods to ſuch as die inteſtate; to take care of periſhable

able goods, when no one will adminiſter; to collate to benefices; to grant inſtitutions to livings; to defend the liberties of the church; and to viſit his own dioceſe once in three years.

Next to the biſhops are the deans and prebends of cathedrals, out of whom the biſhops are choſen. After theſe are the archdeacons, of which every dioceſe has one or more, the whole number in the kingdom of England amounting to ſixty. Their office is to viſit the churches twice or thrice every year. The archdeacons are followed by the rural deans, who were formerly ſtiled archi-preſbyters, and ſignify the biſhop's pleaſure to his clergy, the lower claſs of which conſiſts of prieſts and deacons.

With reſpect to the eccleſiaſtical government and courts, it is proper to obſerve, that the principal part of the eccleſiaſtical government was formerly lodged in the convocation, which is a national ſynod of the clergy, aſſembled to conſider of the ſtate of the church, and to call thoſe to an account who have advanced new opinions, inconſiſtent with the doctrines of the church of England: but in the reign of his late majeſty, they being thought to proceed with too much heat and ſeverity againſt ſome learned divines, and to be too great a check upon free inquiry, they have not been permitted to ſit for any long time ſince. However, they are aſſembled at the ſame time with the parliament, by the authority of the king, who directs his writs to the archbiſhop of each province to ſummon all biſhops, deans, archdeacons, &c. to meet at a certain time and place.

The court of arches is the moſt ancient conſiſtory of the province of Canterbury, and all appeals in church matters, from the judgment of the inferior courts, are directed to this. The proceſſes run in the name of the judge, who is called dean of the arches; and the advocates who plead in this court muſt be doctors of the civil law. The court of audience has the ſame authority with this, to which the

archbiſhop's chancery was formerly joined. The prerogative court is that wherein wills are proved, and adminiſtrations taken out. The court of peculiars, relating to certain pariſhes, have a juriſdiction among themſelves for the probate of wills, and are therefore exempt from the biſhop's courts. The ſee of Canterbury has no leſs than fifteen of theſe peculiars. The court of delegates receives its name from its conſiſting of commoners, delegated or appointed by the royal commiſſion; but it is no ſtanding court. Every biſhop has alſo a court of his own, called the conſiſtory court. Every archdeacon has likewiſe his court, as well as the dean and chapter of every cathedral.

Of the Revenues of the Britiſh Government.

The king's eccleſiaſtical revenue conſiſts in, 1. The cuſtody of the temporalities of vacant biſhoprics. 2. Corodies and penſions. 3. Extra-parochial tithes. 4. The firſt fruits and tenths of benefices.

The king's ordinary temporal revenue conſiſts in, 1. The demeſne lands of the crown. 2. The hereditary exciſe; being part of the conſideration for the purchaſe of his feodal profits, and the prerogatives of purveyance and pre-emption. 3. An annual ſum iſſuing from the duty on wine licences; being the reſidue of the ſame conſideration. 4. His foreſts. 5. His courts of juſtice, &c.

The extraordinary grants are uſually called by the ſynonimous names of aids, ſubſidies, and ſupplies; and are granted, as has been before hinted, by the commons of Great Britain, in parliament aſſembled: who, when they have voted a ſupply to his majeſty, and ſettled the *quantum* of that ſupply, uſually reſolve themſelves into what is called a committee of ways and means, to conſider of the ways and means of raiſing the ſupply ſo voted. And in this committee every member (though it is looked upon as the peculiar

culiar province of the chancellor of the exchequer) may propoſe ſuch ſcheme of taxation as he thinks will be leaſt detrimental to the public. The reſolutions of this committee (when approved by a vote of the houſe) are in general eſteemed to be (as it were) final and concluſive. For, though the ſupply cannot be actually raiſed upon the ſubject till directed by an act of the whole parliament, yet no monied man will ſcruple to advance to the government any quantity of ready caſh, on the credit of a bare vote of the houſe of commons, though no law be yet paſſed to eſtabliſh it.

The annual taxes are, 1. The land tax, or the antient ſubſidy raiſed upon a new aſſeſſment. 2. The malt tax, being an annual exciſe on malt, mum, cyder, and perry.

The perpetual taxes are, 1. The cuſtoms, or tonnage and poundage of all merchandize exported or imported. 2. The exciſe duty, or inland impoſition, on a great variety of commodities. 3. The ſalt duty. 4. The * poſt office, or duty for the carriage of letters. 5. The ſtamp duty on paper, parchment, &c. 6. The duty on houſes and windows. 7. The duty on licences for hackney coaches and chairs. 8. The duty on offices and penſions.

The clear neat produce of theſe ſeveral branches of the revenue, after all charges of collecting and management paid, amounts annually to about ſeven millions and three quarters ſterling; beſide two millions and a quarter raiſed annually, at an average, by the land and malt tax. How theſe immenſe ſums are appropriated, is next to be conſidered. And this is, firſt and principally, to the payment of the intereſt of the national debt.

In order to take a clear and comprehenſive view of the nature of this national debt, it muſt firſt be

* From the years 1715 to 1763, the annual amount of franked letters gradually increaſed from 23,000 l. to 170,700 l.

premiſed,

premiſed, that after the revolution, when our new connections with Europe introduced a new ſyſtem of foreign politics; the expences of the nation, not only in ſettling the new eſtabliſhment, but in maintaining long wars, as principals, on the continent, for the ſecurity of the Dutch barrier, reducing the French monarchy, ſettling the Spaniſh ſucceſſion, ſupporting the houſe of Auſtria, maintaining the liberties of the Germanic body, and other purpoſes, increaſed to an unuſual degree: inſomuch that it was not thought adviſeable to raiſe all the expences of any one year by taxes to be levied within that year, leſt the unaccuſtomed weight of them ſhould create murmurs among the people. It was therefore the policy of the times, to anticipate the revenues of their poſterity, by borrowing immenſe ſums for the current ſervice of the ſtate, and to lay no more taxes upon the ſubject than would ſuffice to pay the annual intereſt of the ſums ſo borrowed: by this means converting the principal debt into a new ſpecies of property, transferable from one man to another at any time and in any quantity. A ſyſtem which ſeems to have had its original in the ſtate of Florence, *A. D.* 1344: which government then owed about 60,000 l. ſterling: and, being unable to pay it, formed the principal into an aggregate ſum, called metaphorically a mount or bank; the ſhares whereof were transferable like our ſtocks. This laid the foundation of what is called the national debt: for a few long annuities created in the reign of Charles II. will hardly deſerve that name. And the example then ſet has been ſo cloſely followed, during the long wars in the reign of queen Anne, and ſince; that the capital of the national debt (funded and unfunded) amounted in January 1765, to upward of 145,000,000 l. to pay the intereſt of which, and the charges for management, amounting annually to about four millions and three quarters, the extraordinary revenues juſt now enumerated (excepting only

only the land-tax and annual malt-tax) are in the firſt place mortgaged, and made perpetual by parliament; but ſtill redeemable by the ſame authority that impoſed them: which, if it at any time can pay off the capital, will aboliſh thoſe taxes which are raiſed to diſcharge the intereſt.

It is indiſputably certain, that the preſent magnitude of our national incumbrances very far exceeds all calculations of commercial benefit, and is productive of the greateſt inconveniencies. For, firſt, the enormous taxes that are raiſed upon the neceſſaries of life for the payment of the intereſt of this debt, are a hurt both to trade and manufactures; by raiſing the price, as well of the artificer's ſubſiſtence, as of the raw material, and of courſe, in a much greater proportion, the price of the commodity itſelf. Secondly, if part of this debt be owing to foreigners, either they draw out of the kingdom annually a conſiderable quantity of ſpecie for the intereſt; or elſe it is made an argument to grant them unreaſonable privileges, in order to induce them to reſide here. Thirdly, if the whole be owing to ſubjects only, it is then charging the active and induſtrious ſubject, who pays his ſhare of the taxes, to maintain the indolent and idle creditor who receives them. Laſtly, and principally, it weakens the internal ſtrength of a ſtate, by anticipating thoſe reſources which ſhould be reſerved to defend it in caſe of neceſſity. The intereſt we now pay for our debts would be nearly ſufficient to maintain any war, that any national motives could require. And if our anceſtors in king William's time had annually paid, ſo long as their exigencies laſted, even a leſs ſum than we now annually raiſe upon their accounts, they would, in time of war, have borne no greater burdens than they have bequeathed to, and ſettled upon, their poſterity in time of peace; and might have been eaſed the inſtant the exigence was over.

The

The produce of the ſeveral taxes before-mentioned were originally ſeparate and diſtinct funds; being ſecurities for the ſums advanced on each ſeveral tax, and for them only. But at laſt it became neceſſary, in order to avoid confuſion, as they multiplied yearly, to reduce the number of theſe ſeparate funds, by uniting and blending them together; ſuperadding the faith of parliament for the general ſecurity of the whole. So that there are now only three capital funds of any account: the aggregate fund, and the general fund, ſo called from ſuch union and addition; and the South Sea fund, being the produce of the taxes appropriated to pay the intereſt of ſuch part of the national debt as was advanced by that company and its annuitants. Whereby the ſeparate funds, which were thus united, are become mutual ſecurities for each other; and the whole produce of them, thus aggregated, liable to pay ſuch intereſt or annuities as were formerly charged upon each diſtinct fund; the faith of the legiſlature being moreover engaged to ſupply any caſual deficiencies.

The cuſtoms, exciſes, and other taxes, which are to ſupport theſe funds, depending on contingencies, upon exports, imports, and conſumptions, muſt neceſſarily be of a very uncertain amount: but they have always been conſiderably more than was ſufficient to anſwer the charge upon them. The ſurpluſſes therefore of the three great national funds, the aggregate, general, and South Sea funds, over and above the intereſt and annuities charged upon them, are directed by ſtatute 3 Geo. I. c. 7. to be carried together, and to attend the diſpoſition of parliament; and are uſually denominated the ſinking fund, becauſe originally deſtined to ſink and lower the national debt. To this have been ſince added many other intire duties, granted in ſubſequent years; and the annual intereſt of the ſums borrowed on their reſpective credits, is charged on, and payable out of the produce of the ſinking fund. However the neat

ſurpluſſes

ſurpluſſes and ſavings, after all deductions paid, amount annually to a very conſiderable ſum; particularly in the year ending at Chriſtmas 1764, to about two millions and a quarter. For, as the intereſt on the national debt has been at ſeveral times reduced, (by the conſent of the proprietors, who had their option either to lower their intereſt, or be paid their principal) the ſavings from the appropriated revenues muſt needs be extreamly large. This ſinking fund is the laſt reſort of the nation; its only domeſtic reſource, on which muſt chiefly depend all the hopes we can entertain of ever diſcharging or moderating our incumbrances. And therefore the prudent application of the large ſums, now ariſing from this fund, is a point of the utmoſt importance, and well worthy the ſerious attention of parliament; which was thereby enabled, in the year 1765, to reduce above two millions ſterling of the public debt.

But, before any part of the aggregate fund (the ſurpluſſes whereof are one of the chief ingredients that form the ſinking fund) can be applied to diminiſh the principal of the public debt, it ſtands mortgaged by parliament to raiſe an annual ſum for the maintenance of the king's houſhold and the civil liſt. For this purpoſe, in the late reigns, the produce of certain branches of the exciſe and cuſtoms, the poſt-office, the duty on wine licences, the revenues of the remaining crown lands, the profits ariſing from courts of juſtice, (which articles include all the hereditary revenues of the crown) and alſo a clear annuity of 120,000 l. in money, were ſettled on the king for life, for the ſupport of his majeſty's houſhold, and the honour and dignity of the crown. And, as the amount of theſe ſeveral branches was uncertain, (though in the laſt reign they were computed to have ſometimes raiſed almoſt a million) if they did not ariſe annually to 800,000 l. the parliament engaged to make up the deficiency. But his preſent majeſty having, ſoon after his acceſſion, ſpontaneouſly

taneouſly ſignified his conſent, that his own hereditary revenues might be ſo diſpoſed of, as might beſt conduce to the utility and ſatisfaction of the public; and having graciouſly accepted the limited ſum of 800,000 l. *per annum*, for the ſupport of his civil liſt, (and that alſo charged with three life annuities, to the princeſs of Wales, the duke of Cumberland, and princeſs Amelia, to the amount of 77,000 l.) the ſaid hereditary, and other revenues, are now carried into, and made a part of, the aggregate fund; and the aggregate fund is charged with the payment of the whole annuity to the crown of 800,000 l. *per annum*. Hereby the revenues themſelves, being put under the ſame care and management as the other branches of the public patrimony, will produce more, and be better collected than heretofore; and the public is a gainer of upward of 100,000 l. *per annum*, by this diſintereſted bounty of his majeſty. The civil liſt, thus liquidated, together with the four millions and three quarters, intereſt of the national debt, and the two millions and a quarter produced from the ſinking fund, make up the ſeven millions and three quarters *per annum*, neat money, which were before ſtated to be the annual produce of our perpetual taxes: beſide the immenſe, though uncertain ſums, ariſing from the annual taxes on land and malt, but which, at an average, may be calculated at more than two millions and a quarter; and which, added to the preceding ſum, make the clear produce of the taxes, excluſive of the charge of collecting, which are raiſed yearly on the people of this country, amount to upward of ten millions ſterling.

The expences defrayed by the civil liſt are thoſe that in any ſhape relate to civil government; as the expences of the houſhold, all ſalaries to officers of ſtate, to the judges, and every of the king's ſervants; the appointments to foreign ambaſſadors, the maintenance of the queen and royal family, the king's private expences, or privy purſe, and other very numerous

rous outgoings; as ſecret ſervice-money, penſions, and other bounties. Theſe ſometimes have ſo far exceeded the revenues appointed for that purpoſe, that application has been made to parliament, to diſcharge the debts contracted on the civil liſt; as particularly in 1724, when one million was granted for that purpoſe by the ſtatute 11 Geo. I. c. 17.

The civil liſt is indeed properly the whole of the king's revenue in his own diſtinct capacity; the reſt being rather the revenue of the public, or its creditors, though collected, and diſtributed again, in the name, and by the officers of the crown; it now ſtanding in the ſame place, as the hereditary income did formerly; and, as that has gradually diminiſhed, the parliamentary appointments have encreaſed.

Of the Military and Marine ſtrength of Great Britain.

The military ſtate includes the whole of the ſoldiery; or, ſuch perſons as are peculiarly appointed among the reſt of the people, for the ſafeguard and defence of the realm.

In a land of liberty it is extreamly dangerous to make a diſtinct order of the profeſſion of arms. In ſuch, no man ſhould take up arms, but with a view to defend his country and its laws: he puts not off the citizen when he enters the camp; but it is becauſe he is a citizen, and would wiſh to continue ſo, that he makes himſelf for a while a ſoldier. The laws therefore, and conſtitution of theſe kingdoms know no ſuch ſtate as that of a perpetual ſtanding ſoldier, bred up to no other profeſſion than that of war: and it was not till the reign of Henry VII. that the kings of England had ſo much as a guard about their perſons.

It ſeems univerſally agreed by all hiſtorians, that king Alfred firſt ſettled a national militia in this kingdom, and by his prudent diſcipline, made all the ſubjects of his dominions ſoldiers.

In

In the mean time we are not to imagine that the kingdom was left wholly without defence, in caſe of domeſtic inſurrections, or the proſpect of foreign invaſions. Beſide thoſe, who by their military tenures, were bound to perform forty days ſervice in the field, the ſtatute of Wincheſter obliged every man, according to his eſtate and degree, to provide a determinate quantity of ſuch arms as were then in uſe, in order to keep the peace: and conſtables were appointed in all hundreds, to ſee that ſuch arms were provided. Theſe weapons were changed by the ſtatute 4 and 5 Ph. and M. c. 2. into others of more modern ſervice; but both this and the former proviſion were repealed in the reign of James I. While theſe continued in force, it was uſual from time to time, for our princes to iſſue commiſſions of array, and ſend into every county officers in whom they could confide, to muſter and array (or ſet in military order) the inhabitants of every diſtrict: and the form of the commiſſion of array was ſettled in parliament in the 5 Hen. IV. But at the ſame time it was provided, that no man ſhould be compelled to go out of the kingdom at any rate, nor out of his ſhire, but in caſes of urgent neceſſity; nor ſhould provide ſoldiers unleſs by conſent of parliament. About the reign of king Henry VIII. and his children, lord lieutenants began to be introduced, as ſtanding repreſentatives of the crown, to keep the counties in military order; for we find them mentioned as known officers in the ſtatute 4 and 5 Ph. and M. c. 3. though they had not been then long in uſe; for Camden ſpeaks of them in the time of queen Elizabeth, as extraordinary magiſtrates, conſtituted only in times of difficulty and danger.

Soon after the reſtoration of king Charles II. when the military tenures were aboliſhed, it was thought proper to aſcertain the power of the militia, to recognize the ſole right of the crown to govern and command them, and to put the whole into a more regular

regular method of military ſubordination: and the order in which the militia now ſtands by law, is principally built upon the ſtatutes which were then enacted. It is true, the two laſt of them are apparently repealed; but many of their proviſions are re-enacted, with the addition of ſome new regulations, by the preſent militia laws; the general ſcheme of which is to diſcipline a certain number of the inhabitants of every county, choſen by lot for three years, and officered by the lord lieutenant, the deputy lieutenants, and other principal landholders, under a commiſſion from the crown. They are not compellable to march out of their counties, unleſs in caſe of invaſion or actual rebellion, nor in any caſe compellable to march out of the kingdom. They are to be exerciſed at ſtated times: and their diſcipline in general is liberal and eaſy; but, when drawn out into actual ſervice, they are ſubject to the rigours of martial law, as neceſſary to keep them in order. This is the conſtitutional ſecurity which our laws have provided for the public peace, and for protecting the realm againſt foreign or domeſtic violence; and which the ſtatutes declare, is eſſentially neceſſary to the ſafety and proſperity of the kingdom.

But, as the faſhion of keeping ſtanding armies has univerſally prevailed over all Europe of late years (though ſome of its potentates, being unable themſelves to maintain them, are obliged to have reſource to richer powers, and receive ſubſidiary penſions for that purpoſe) it has alſo for many years paſt been annually judged neceſſary by our legiſlature, for the ſafety of the kingdom, the defence of the poſſeſſions of the crown of Great Britain, and the preſervation of the balance of power in Europe, to maintain, even in time of peace, a ſtanding body of troops, under the command of the crown; who are however, *ipſo facto*, diſbanded at the expiration of every year, unleſs continued by parliament. The land forces of theſe kingdoms, in time of peace, amount to about 40,000

men, including troops and garrisons in Ireland, Gibraltar, Minorca, and America; but in time of war, there have been in British pay, natives and foreigners, above 150,000! The registered militia in England consists of near 200,000.

The maritime state is nearly related to the former; though much more agreeable to the principles of our free constitution. The royal navy of England hath ever been its greatest defence and ornament; it is its ancient and natural strength; the floating bulwark of the island; an army, from which, however strong and powerful, no danger can ever be apprehended to liberty: and accordingly it has been assiduously cultivated, even from the earliest ages. To so much perfection was our naval reputation arrived in the twelfth century, that the code of maritime laws, which are called the laws of Oleron, and are received by all nations in Europe, as the ground and substruction of all their marine constitutions, was confessedly compiled by our king Richard I. at the isle of Oleron on the coast of France, then part of the possessions of the crown of England. And yet, so vastly inferior were our ancestors in this point, to the present age, that even in the maritime reign of queen Elizabeth, Sir Edward Coke thinks it matter of boast, that the royal navy of England then consisted of 33 ships. The present condition of our marine is in great measure owing to the salutary provisions of the statutes, called the navigation-acts; whereby the constant increase of English shipping and seamen was not only encouraged, but rendered unavoidably necessary. The most beneficial statute for the trade and commerce of these kingdoms is that navigation-act, the rudiments of which were first framed in 1650, with a narrow partial view: being intended to mortify the sugar islands, which were disaffected to the parliament, and still held out for Charles II. by stopping the gainful trade which they then carried on with the Dutch; and at the same time

time to clip the wings of thoſe our opulent and aſpiring neighbours. This prohibited all ſhips of foreign nations from trading with any Engliſh plantations without licence from the council of ſtate. In 1651, the prohibition was extended alſo to the mother country; and no goods were ſuffered to be imported into England, or any of its dependencies, in any other than Engliſh bottoms; or in the ſhips of that European nation, of which the merchandize imported was the genuine growth or manufacture. At the reſtoration, the former proviſions were continued, by ſtatute 12 Car. II. c. 18. with this very material improvement, that the maſter and three fourths of the mariners ſhall alſo be Engliſh ſubjects.

The complement of ſeamen, in time of peace, uſually amounts to twelve or fifteen thouſand. In time of war, they have amounted to no leſs than ſixty thouſand men. See at the end of this volume a liſt of the royal navy of England, as it ſtood at the end of the late war.

This navy is commonly divided into three ſquadrons, namely, the red, white, and blue, which are ſo termed from the difference of their colours. Each ſquadron has its admiral; but the admiral of the red ſquadron has the principal command of the whole, and is ſtiled vice-admiral of Great Britain. Subject to each admiral is alſo a vice and a rear-admiral. But the ſupreme command of our naval force is, next to the king, in the lords commiſſioners of the admiralty. We may venture to affirm that the Britiſh navy, during the late war, was able to cope with all the other fleets in Europe. In the courſe of a few years it entirely vanquiſhed the whole naval power of France, diſabled Spain, and kept the Dutch in awe.

For the protection of the Britiſh empire, and the annoyance of our enemies, it was then divided into ſeveral powerful ſquadrons, and ſo judiciouſly ſtationed, that while one fleet was ſucceſsfully battering walls,

hitherto reckoned impregnable, others were employed in fruſtrating the deſigns of France, and eſcorting home the riches of the eaſtern and weſtern worlds.

Notwithſtanding our favourable ſituation for a maritime power, it was not until the vaſt armament ſent to ſubdue this nation by Spain, in 1588, that the nation, by a vigorous effort, became fully ſenſible of its true intereſt and natural ſtrength, which it has ſince ſo happily cultivated. This appears more fully by the ſhort view of our naval tranſactions, which cloſes this volume; and which, beginning with the reign of queen Elizabeth, is carried down to the peace of Verſailles in 1763.

An Hiſtorical Account of the Policy and Trade of Great Britain.

The preſent ſyſtem of Engliſh politics may properly be ſaid to have taken riſe in the reign of queen Elizabeth. At this time the Proteſtant religion was eſtabliſhed, which naturally allied us to the reformed ſtates, and made all the Popiſh powers our enemies.

We began in the ſame reign to extend our trade, by which it became neceſſary for us alſo to watch the commercial progreſs of our neighbours; and, if not to incommode and obſtruct their traffic, to hinder them from impairing ours.

We then likewiſe ſettled colonies in America, which was become the great ſcene of European ambition; for, ſeeing with what treaſures the Spaniards were annually enriched from Mexico and Peru, every nation imagined, that an American conqueſt or plantation would certainly fill the mother country with gold and ſilver.

The diſcoveries of new regions, which were then every day made, the profit of remote traffic, and the neceſſity of long voyages, produced, in a few years,

a great

a great multiplication of ſhipping. The ſea was conſidered as the wealthy element; and, by degrees, a new kind of ſovereignty aroſe, called naval dominion.

As the chief trade of Europe, ſo the chief maritime power was at firſt in the hands of the Portugueſe and Spaniards, who, by a compact, to which the conſent of other princes was not aſked, had divided the newly diſcovered countries between them: but the crown of Portugal having fallen to the king of Spain, or being ſeized by him, he was maſter of the ſhips of the two nations, with which he kept all the coaſts of Europe in alarm, till the Armada, he had raiſed at a vaſt expence for the conqueſt of England, was deſtroyed; which put a ſtop, and almoſt an end, to the naval power of the Spaniards.

At this time the Dutch, who were oppreſſed by the Spaniards, and feared yet greater evils than they felt, reſolved no longer to endure the inſolence of their maſters; they therefore revolted; and after a ſtruggle, in which they were aſſiſted by the money and forces of Elizabeth, erected an independant and powerful commonwealth.

When the inhabitants of the Low Countries had formed their ſyſtem of government, and ſome remiſſion of the war gave them leiſure to form ſchemes of future proſperity, they eaſily perceived that, as their territories were narrow, and their numbers ſmall, they could preſerve themſelves only by that power which is the conſequence of wealth; and that by a people whoſe country produced only the neceſſaries of life, wealth was not to be acquired, but from foreign dominions, and by the tranſportation of the products of one country into another.

From this neceſſity, thus juſtly eſtimated, aroſe a plan of commerce, which was for many years proſecuted with induſtry and ſucceſs, perhaps never ſeen in the world before; and by which the poor tenants of mud-walled villages and impaſſable bogs, erected

themſelves into high and mighty ſtates, who ſet the greateſt monarchs at defiance, whoſe alliance was courted by the proudeſt, and whoſe power was dreaded by the fierceſt nations. By the eſtabliſhment of this ſtate, there aroſe to England a new ally, and a new rival.

At this time, which ſeems to be the period deſtined for the change of the face of Europe, France began firſt to riſe into power, and from defending her own provinces with difficulty and fluctuating ſucceſs, to threaten her neighbours with incroachments and devaſtations. Henry IV. having, after a long ſtruggle, obtained the crown, found it eaſy to govern nobles, exhauſted and wearied with a long civil war; and having compoſed the diſputes between the Proteſtants and Papiſts, ſo as to obtain, at leaſt, a truce for both parties, was at leiſure to accumulate treaſure, and raiſe forces which he propoſed to have employed in a deſign of ſettling for ever the balance of Europe. Of this great ſcheme he lived not to ſee the vanity, or feel the diſappointment; for he was murdered in the midſt of his mighty preparations.

The French, however, were in this reign taught to know their own power; and the great deſigns of a king, whoſe wiſdom they had ſo long experienced, even though they were not brought to actual experiment, diſpoſed them to conſider themſelves as maſters of the deſtiny of their neighbours: and from that time he that ſhall nicely examine their ſchemes and conduct, will find that they began to take an air of ſuperiority, to which they had never pretended before; and that they have been always employed more or leſs openly, upon ſchemes of dominion, though with frequent interruptions from domeſtic troubles.

When Queen Elizabeth entered upon the government, the cuſtoms produced only 36,000 l. a year; at the reſtoration, they were lett to farm for 400,000 l. and produced conſiderably above double that ſum

before

before the revolution. The people of London, before we had any plantations, and but very little trade, were computed at about 100,000; at the death of queen Elizabeth, they were increaſed to 150,000, and are now about ſix times that number. In thoſe days, we had not only our naval ſtores, but our ſhips from our neighbours. Germany furniſhed us with all things made of metal, even to nails; wine, paper, linen, and a thouſand other things came from France. Portugal furniſhed us with ſugars; all the produce of America was poured upon us from Spain; and the Venetians and Genoeſe retailed to us the commodities of the Eaſt Indies at their own price. In ſhort, the legal intereſt of money was 12 per cent. and the common price of our land ten or twelve years purchaſe. We may add, that our manufactures were few, and thoſe but indifferent; the number of Engliſh merchants very ſmall, and our ſhipping much inferior to what now belong to the northern colonies.

Such was the ſtate of our trade when this great princeſs came to the throne; but as the limits of our undertaking does not permit us to give a detail of the gradual progreſs of commerce, we flatter ourſelves that the Britiſh reader will not be diſpleaſed with the following view of our extenſive trade, at preſent carried on through the various nations of the globe.

Great Britain is, of all other countries, the moſt proper for trade; as well from its ſituation, as an iſland, as from the freedom and excellency of its conſtitution, and from its natural products, and conſiderable manufactures. For exportation: our country produces many of the moſt ſubſtantial and neceſſary commodities, as butter, cheeſe, corn, cattle, wool, iron, lead, tin, copper, leather, copperas, pitcoal, alum, ſaffron, &c. Our corn ſometimes preſerves other countries from ſtarving. Our horſes are the moſt ſerviceable in the world, and highly valued by all nations for their hardineſs, beauty, and ſtrength.

With beef, mutton, pork, poultry, biſcuit, we victual not only our own fleets, but all foreigners that come and go. Our iron we export manufactured in great guns, carcaſes, bombs, &c. Prodigious, and almoſt incredible, is the value likewiſe of other goods from hence exported; viz. hops, flax, hemp, hats, ſhoes, houſhold-ſtuff, ale, beer, red-herrings, pilchards, ſalmon, oyſters, ſaffron, liquorice, watches, ribbands, toys, &c.

There is ſcarce a manufacture in Europe, but what is brought to great perfection in England; and therefore it is perfectly unneceſſary to enumerate them all. The woollen manufacture is the moſt conſiderable, and exceeds in goodneſs and quantity that of any other nation. Hard-ware is another capital article; locks, edge-tools, guns, ſwords, and other arms, exceed any thing of the kind; houſhold utenſils of braſs, iron, and pewter, alſo are very great articles; our clocks and watches are in very great eſteem. There are but few manufactures we are defective in. In thoſe of lace and paper we do not ſeem to excel; but we import much more than we ſhould, if the duty on Britiſh paper was taken off. As to foreign traffic, the woollen manufacture is ſtill the great foundation and ſupport of it.

The commerce between Great Britain and the countries ſubject to the grand ſignior is carried on by the merchants incorporated into the Levant or Turkey company; but now opened in ſuch a manner by a late ſtatute, as to be more capable of anſwering national purpoſes, without leſſening the particular advantages, which Turkey merchants ought in juſtice to enjoy. The commodities we export are chiefly lead, tin, and iron, watches and clocks; and of our woollen manufactures, broad cloth and long ells. It is alſo ſaid that our merchants ſend thither French and Liſbon ſugars, as well as bullion. We take in return raw ſilk in great quantities, which however is only proper for the ſtuff of our damaſk, and other coloured

coloured ſilks; it will alſo ſerve for making ſtockings, galloons, and ſilver and gold lace; but it is not proper for the warp of any ſilk, nor even for the woof of ſome of the finer ſorts. We import alſo grogram yarn, dying ſtuffs of various kinds, drugs, ſoap, leather, cotton, fruit, oil, &c. While the war continued, it was a great help to us in this trade, as the French are our principal competitors therein; and as they ſuffered very ſeverely, not only by captures, but by the high inſurance they paid on all the goods they exported; ſo they could not but come very dear to markets, and perhaps we preſerve ſtill ſome of the advantages then acquired.

We export to Italy, of our own commodities, tin and lead, great quantities of fiſh, ſuch as pilchards, herrings, ſalmond, cod, &c. various kinds of Eaſt India goods; and of our own manufactures, broad cloths, long ells, Bays, druggets, camblets, and other ſtuffs; as alſo leather and other things. We import from thence prodigious quantities of ſilk, raw, thrown, and wrought; wine, oil, ſoap, olives, dying ſtuffs, &c. It is from this country, and more eſpecially from the dominions of his Sardinian majeſty, that we have the fine ſilk called organzine, which is thrown by an engine, much truer than it can be by hand, of which we have one, and but one, at Derby. That prince, however, has taken care to preſerve to his ſubjects this precious commodity in its full extent; for we have no Piedmont ſilk raw, and what we have we pay for in ready money, at a very high rate. This therefore makes the balance of power, and the change of maſters, at leaſt in the maritime parts of Italy, a thing of very great conſequence to Great Britain; and as ſuch, it ought always to be conſidered by our miniſters, and if poſſible, in no other light.

We export to Spain, tin, lead, corn, &c. pilchards, herrings, cod, and other kinds of fiſh; of our manufactures broad cloth, druggets, bays, and ſtuffs, of various kinds; as alſo a great variety of different goods,

goods, which are re-shipped by them from Cadiz to their colonies in America. On the other hand, we import from Spain, wine, oil, and fruit, wool, indigo, cochineal, and other drugs. It appears from hence, that if the Spaniards are good customers to us, we are also the best customers they have; for it is thought we take off two-thirds of their commodities: so that considering them as a nation, nothing can distress the Spaniards so much as a war with the English It is very true, that in time of peace we draw a considerable balance from thence in specie or in bullion; but at the same time, we furnish them with the commodities that are most necessary, with the manufactures that bring them this bullion, and take also vast quantities of commodities that must otherwise lie upon their hands; whereas the French furnish them with many trifles, as well as some costly manufactures, for which they are paid wholly in silver. Hence it appears, that it is the mutual interest of Spain and Britain to deal with each other; and if this was thoroughly inculcated, it would enrich us and serve them.

We export to Portugal, tin, lead, corn, fish, and almost all of our commodities; as also broad cloths, druggets, bays, stuffs, leather, and many other manufactures; we take from them wine, oil, salt, and fruit; so that though it is generally supposed the balance of this trade is as much in our favour as any, yet the Portuguese find their account in it: for in the first place, we take almost all the commodities they export, and for which, if we did not take them, they could hardly find another market; and we furnish them with the best part of those things they export to the Brazils, and thereby draw that immense treasure yearly, which, for its bigness, renders Portugal one of the richest countries in Europe. Beside, these reciprocal advantages have made such a connection between our interests, that upon all occasions we have been ready to espouse those of Portugal, and to protect

tect her from the only power ſhe has reaſon to fear, by the timely interpoſition of our maritime force.

We export to France, tin, lead, corn, horn plates, and great quantities of tobacco, ſome flannels; but very little elſe of our manufactures. We take from thence, in time of peace, wine, brandy, linen, lace, cambrics, lawns (unleſs our late acts can keep them out) and an infinite number of other things which are run in upon us, and whatever elſe the French are pleaſed to direct: whence it appears, that of all others, the French commerce is to us the moſt dangerous and deſtructive.

We export to Flanders, tin, lead, and ſome iron ware, as alſo ſugar and tobacco; of our manufactures, ſerges, ſome flannels, and a few ſtuffs. On the other hand, we take from them fine lace, cambrics, lawns, linen, tape, inkles, and other goods of that kind, to a very great value; ſo that there ſeems to be no doubt that the balance of this trade is conſiderably againſt us, which is chiefly owing to the prohibition of our cloth: therefore if any thing be worthy our ſeeking on the continent, it is the port of Oſtend, with a ſmall diſtrict about it, which at the ſame time would be of ſervice to our allies, and might contribute to repair the expences we have been at in our ſeveral land wars. This is mentioned only incidentally.

We ſend to Germany, tin, lead, and many other commodities; tobacco, ſugar, ginger, and all kinds of Eaſt-India goods. Of our woollen manufactures, ſome of almoſt every kind we make. On the other hand, we take from them tin plates, linen, kid ſkins, and ſeveral other things. The balance of this trade is looked upon to be very much in our favour, but it might be made ſtill more; for in many places of late they have prohibited different kinds of our manufactures, and in ſome they have prohibited all. But in our treaties of ſubſidy, if we had an article to prevent or remove ſuch prohibitions, it would be but reaſonable: for as we pay the Germans for fighting

their

their own battles, they might methinks in return allow a free vent to our manufactures; and as they are ſure of taking our money, ſhould give us a chance at leaſt for ſeeing ſome of theirs.

We have a great trade with Denmark and Norway, but we export very little; a ſmall quantity of tobacco, and a few coarſe woollen goods is all; but we are forced to tack to theſe crown-pieces and guineas, to pay for timber and iron; and the matter is not all mended, but on the contrary grows worſe; if inſtead of exporting our wealth, we ſtay till the Danes come and fetch it, for then we not only pay for their goods, but the freight alſo; and this evil it ſeems is not in our power to cure at preſent.

We carry on the ſame kind of loſing trade to Sweden, where it is a maxim of ſtate to beat out as much as poſſible all our commodities and manufactures; and this has been ſo ſteadily purſued, that it is now pretty near done, and gold and ſilver are almoſt our only exports. Copper, iron, and naval ſtores, are the goods we bring from thence, to the amount of about three hundred thouſand pounds a year. We were formerly under a neceſſity of doing this; becauſe their goods muſt be had, and could be had no where elſe. At preſent it is otherwiſe, we might have all theſe at much more reaſonable rates from our own plantations, which is much the ſame thing as having them at home.

We export to Ruſſia, tin, lead, and other commodities, a great quantity of tobacco; and of our manufactures, coarſe cloths, long ells, worſted ſtuffs, &c. On the other hand, we import from thence, tallow, furrs, iron, pot-aſhes, hemp, flax, linen, Ruſſia leather, &c. Our trade to this country is managed by a company, the beſt conſtituted, and the beſt conducted of any that we have; for any merchant may be admitted into it for a very ſmall conſideration, and the meaſures they purſue are ſuch as prove highly beneficial, and never can do any harm. The trade through this

this empire into Perſia, may become a thing of great conſequence, as it will furniſh us with that ſort of ſilk which we want moſt, at an eaſy price, and may be attended with other advantages that we have not room to explain.

We export to Holland almoſt all the commodities and manufactures that we have, as well as moſt of our plantation goods, and of thoſe we bring from the Levant and the Eaſt Indies. We import prodigious quantities of fine linen, threads, tapes, inkles, whalefins, braſs battery, cinnamon, mace, cloves, drugs, and dying ſtuffs, &c. yet with reſpect to the fair trade we have a large balance: the only doubt is, how far this may be abated by the great induſtry of ſmuglers, who gain their bread and raiſe fortunes by a ſteady purſuit of their private intereſts, at the expence of the public.

With reſpect to our African trade, it is certainly of the higheſt importance to the nation, for it creates a vaſt exportation of our commodities and manufactures, and produces a large balance in bullion from the Spaniards, as well as in gold-duſt, red-wood, ivory, and other valuable commodities, ſome of which are re-exported; but above all it ſupplies our plantations with negroes, which is a thing of prodigious conſequence. The old African company of England, once the moſt flouriſhing and profitable of all our companies, and but for bad management within, and party prejudice without, might have continued ſo, has been at length diſſolved by parliament, and the commerce put into a new channel, which either anſwers, or will be made to anſwer national purpoſes; ſince no commerce can more nearly concern Great Britain and her colonies than this does, and ſcarcely any is ſo much the ſubject of foreign envy.

The Eaſt-India trade is a prodigious thing, and of great benefit to the nation, though we export chiefly bullion; and though it is carried on by a company. But the goods we bring home are bought at low prices,

pr[illegible] at high rates, and what we export is belie[illegible]duce a balance equivalent at leaſt to the b[illegible] that is ſent out to buy them. It has been of late ſuggeſted, and not without good reaſon, that this commerce is capable of great improvements, by extending it to the north-eaſt; for in that caſe, we might hope to vend large quantities of our manufactures, which would at once remove the only reaſonable exception that was ever taken to this trade, would augment our navigation, and hinder the northern nations from interfering with us, by employing the very money we pay for naval ſtores, in beating us out of a very conſiderable branch of commerce, for the carrying on of which thoſe ſtores are purchaſed.

As for the plantation trade, we have already ſpoken of it elſewhere, and without doubt it is by far the moſt conſiderable of any that we have, and is notwithſtanding this, far leſs conſiderable than it might be; for with a little pains and encouragement, it might be made in its ſavings and in its produce, twice or thrice as beneficial at it is: for it has been computed, that by encouraging hemp and flax, pot-aſhes, timber, iron, other naval ſtores, and ſilk, we might either get or keep conſiderably above a million annually; and by making other regulations it is demonſtrable, that within a few years we might gain as much more.

In ſhort, the advantages are infinite that redound to us from our American empire, where we have at leaſt a million of Britiſh ſubjects, and between fifteen hundred and two thouſand ſail of ſhips conſtantly employed.

The annual exports of Engliſh and foreign goods amount to between ſix and ſeven millions ſterling, and our imports do not exceed five millions. As a conſiderable part of this is again exported, the annual iſſues from England for foreign merchandize, has been eſtimated at four millions. Yet our foreign trade does not amount to one ſixth part of the inland;

land; the annual produce of the natural products and manufactures of England amounting to above forty-two millions. The gold and silver of England is received from Portugal, Spain, Jamaica, the American colonies, and Africa; but great part of this gold and silver we again export to Holland, and the East Indies; and it is supposed that two-thirds of all the foreign traffic of England is carried on in the port of London.

We shall conclude this account of our trade with the following comparative view of shipping, which, till a better table can be formed, may have its uses.

If the shipping of Europe be divided into twenty parts, then,

Great Britain, &c. is computed to have	6
The United Provinces — —	6
The subjects of the northern crowns —	2
The trading cities of Germany, and the Austrian Netherlands — — —	1
France — — — —	2
Spain and Portugal — — —	2
Italy, and the rest of Europe — —	1

A short View of the Stocks, or public Funds in England, with an historical Account of the East India, the Bank, and South Sea Companies.

As there are few subjects of conversation more general than the value of stocks, and hardly any thing so little understood, nothing can be more useful than a short account of them, which we shall here give in as clear and concise a manner as possible; presenting our readers with the rationale of the stocks, and a short history of the several companies, describing the nature of their separate funds, the uses to which they are applied, and the various purposes they answer, both with respect to the government, the companies themselves, and the community in general.

In

In order to give a clear idea of the money tranſactions of the ſeveral companies, it is proper we ſhould ſay ſomething of money in general, and particularly of paper money, and the difference between that and the current ſpecie. Money is the ſtandard of the value of all the neceſſaries and accommodations of life, and paper-money is the repreſentative of that ſtandard to ſuch a degree, as to ſupply its place, and to anſwer all the purpoſes of gold and ſilver coin. Nothing is neceſſary to make this repreſentative of money ſupply the place of ſpecie, but the credit of that office or company, who delivers it; which credit conſiſts in its always being ready to turn it into ſpecie whenever required. This is exactly the caſe of the bank of England, the notes of this company are of the ſame value as the current coin, as they may be turned into it, whenever the poſſeſſor pleaſes. From hence, as notes are a kind of money, the counterfeiting them is puniſhed with death as well as coining.

The method of depoſiting money in the bank, and exchanging it for notes (though they bear no intereſt) is attended with many conveniencies; as they are not only ſafer than money in the hands of the owner himſelf; but as the notes are more portable and capable of a much more eaſy conveyance: ſince a bank note for a very large ſum, may be ſent by the poſt, and to prevent the deſigns of robbers, may, without damage, be cut in two and ſent at two ſeveral times. Or bills, called bank poſt bills, may be had by application at the bank, which are particularly calculated to prevent loſſes by robberies, they being made payable to the order of the perſon who takes them out at a certain number of days after ſight; which gives an opportunity to ſtop bills at the bank, if they ſhould be loſt, and prevents their being ſo eaſily negotiated by ſtrangers as common bank notes are: and whoever conſiders the hazard, the expence and trouble there would be in ſending large ſums of gold

gold and ſilver to and from diſtant places, muſt alſo conſider this as a very ſingular advantage. Beſide which another benefit attends them; for if they are deſtroyed by time, or other accidents, the bank will, on oath being made of ſuch accident, and ſecurity being given, pay the money to the perſon who was in poſſeſſion of them.

Bank notes differ from all kinds of ſtock in theſe three particulars. 1. They are always of the ſame value. 2. They are paid off without being transferred; and, 3. They bear no intereſt; while ſtocks are a ſhare in a company's funds, bought without any condition of having the principal returned. India bonds indeed (by ſome perſons, though erroneouſly, denominated ſtock) are to be excepted, they being made payable at ſix months notice, either on the ſide of the company or of the poſſeſſor.

By the word *ſtock* was originally meant, a particular ſum of money contributed to the eſtabliſhing a fund to enable a company to carry on a certain trade, by means of which the perſon became a partner in that trade, and received a ſhare of the profit made thereby in proportion to the money employed. But this term has been extended farther, though improperly, to ſignify any ſum of money which has been lent to the government, on condition of receiving a certain intereſt till the money is repaid, and which makes a part of the national debt. As the ſecurity both of the government and of the public companies is eſteemed preferable to that of any private perſon, as the ſtocks are negotiable and may be ſold at any time, and as the intereſt is always punctually paid when due, ſo they are thereby enabled to borrow money on a lower intereſt than what might be obtained from lending it to private perſons, where there muſt be always ſome danger of loſing both principal and intereſt.

But as every capital ſtock or fund of a company is raiſed for a particular purpoſe, and limited by parliament to a certain ſum, it neceſſarily follows, that

when that fund is compleated, no ſtock can be bought of the company; though ſhares already purchaſed, may be transferred from one perſon to another. This being the caſe, there is frequently a great diſproportion between the original value of the ſhares, and what is given for them when transferred; for if there are more buyers than ſellers, a perſon who is indifferent about ſelling will not part with his ſhare without a conſiderable profit to himſelf; and on the contrary, if many are diſpoſed to ſell, and few inclined to buy, the value of ſuch ſhares will naturally fall, in proportion to the impatience of thoſe who want to turn their ſtock into ſpecie.

Theſe obſervations may ſerve to give our readers ſome idea of the nature of that unjuſtifiable and diſhoneſt practice called *ſtock-jobbing*, the myſtery of which conſiſts in nothing more than this: the perſons concerned in that practice, who are denominated ſtock-jobbers, make contracts to buy or ſell, at a certain diſtant time, a certain quantity of ſome particular ſtock, againſt which time they endeavour, according as their contract is, either to raiſe or lower ſuch ſtock, by raiſing rumours and ſpreading fictitious ſtories in order to induce people either to ſell out in a hurry, and conſequently cheap, if they are to deliver ſtock, or to become unwilling to ſell, and conſequently to make it dearer, if they are to receive ſtock.

The perſons who make theſe contracts are not in general poſſeſſed of any real ſtock, and when the time comes that they are to receive or deliver the quantity they have contracted for, they only pay ſuch a ſum of money as makes the difference between the price the ſtock was at when they made the contract, and the price it happens to be at when the contract is fulfilled, and it is no uncommon thing for perſons not worth 100l. to make contracts for the buying or ſelling 100,000l. ſtock. In the language of Exchange Alley,

Alley, the buyer in this caſe is called the Bull, and the ſeller the Bear.

Beſide theſe, there are another ſet of men, who though of a higher rank, may properly enough come under the ſame denomination. Theſe are your great monied men, who are dealers in ſtock and contractors with the government whenever any new money is to be borrowed. Theſe indeed are not fictitious, but real buyers and ſellers of ſtock; but by raiſing falſe hopes, or creating groundleſs fears, by pretending to buy or ſell large quantities of ſtock on a ſudden, by uſing the fore-mentioned ſet of men as their inſtruments, and other like practices, are enabled to raiſe or fall the ſtocks one or two per cent. at pleaſure.

However, the real value of one ſtock above another, on account of its being more profitable to the proprietors, or any thing that will really, or only in imagination, affect the credit of a company, or endanger the government, by which that credit is ſecured, muſt naturally have a conſiderable effect on the ſtocks. Thus, with reſpect to the intereſt of the proprietors, a ſhare in the ſtock of a trading company which produces 5 l. or 6 l. per cent. per ann. muſt be more valuable than an annuity with government ſecurity, that produces no more than 3 l. or 4 l. per cent. per annum; and conſequently ſuch ſtock muſt ſell at a higher price than ſuch an annuity. Though it muſt be obſerved, that a ſhare in the ſtock of a trading company producing 5 l. or 6 l. per cent. per annum, will not fetch ſo much money at market as a government annuity producing the ſame ſum, becauſe the ſecurity of the company is not reckoned equal to that of the government, and the continuance of their paying ſo much per annum, is more precarious, as their dividend is, or ought to be, always in proportion to the profits of their trade.

As the ſtocks of the Eaſt India, the bank, and South-Sea companies, are diſtinguiſhed by different

denominations, and are of a very different nature, we ſhall give a ſhort hiſtory of each of them, together with an account of the different ſtocks, each is poſſeſſed of, beginning with the Eaſt India company, as the firſt eſtabliſhed.

Of the Eaſt India Company.

There is no trading company in Europe, the Dutch Eaſt India company excepted, which can be put in competition with this. Its was firſt eſtabliſhed in the latter end of the reign of queen Elizabeth; and its privileges have been enlarged, or confirmed, by almoſt every monarch ſince. Its ſhares, or ſubſcriptions, were originally only 50 l. ſterling; and its capital only 369,891 l. 5 s. but the directors having a conſiderable dividend to make in 1676, it was agreed to join the profits to the capital, by which the ſhares were doubled, and conſequently each became of 100 l. value, and the capital 739,782 l. 10 s. to which capital, if 963,639 l. the profits of the company to the year 1685, be added, the whole ſtock will be found to be 1,703,402 pounds.

However, this company having ſuſtained ſeveral loſſes by the Dutch, and the ſubjects of the great Mogul, was in a declining way at the revolution, when the war with France reduced it ſo low, that it appearing ſcarcely poſſible to be ſupported, a new one was erected. The merchants forming the new Eaſt India company, received their charter in 1698, having in conſideration of the grant thereof, lent to the government two millions at 8 per cent. per annum, and puſhing their trade with vigour, they ſoon carried on twice the buſineſs that was ever done by the old company. But after the two companies had ſubſiſted a few years in a ſeparate ſtate, means were contrived to unite them, which was effected in 1702, when a new charter was granted them under the title of the United Company of Merchants trading to the Eaſt Indies.

To

To the two millions advanced by the new company, the united company in the 6th of queen Anne, lent the government 1,200,000 l. which made their whole loan amount to 3,200,000 l. a further ſum was alſo lent by the company in 1730, on a renewal of their charter, the intereſt of which is reduced to 3 per cent. and called the India 3 per cent. annuities.

As to India ſtock, it is of a quite different nature; for as that is not money put out to intereſt, but the trading ſtock of the company, and the proprietors of the ſhares, inſtead of receiving a regular annuity, have a dividend of the profits ariſing from the company's trade; which, as it is more valuable, theſe ſhares generally ſell at a price much above the original value.

As to the management of this united company, all perſons without exception, natives and foreigners, men and women, are admitted members of it, and 500 l. in the ſtock of the company, gives the owner a vote in the general court, and 2000 l. qualifies him to be choſen a director. The directors are 24 in number, including the chairman, and deputy-chairman, who may be re-elected for four years ſucceſſively. The chairman has a ſalary of 200 l. a year, and each of the directors 150 l. The meetings or courts of directors, are to be held at leaſt once a week; but are commonly oftener, being ſummoned as occaſion requires.

Out of the body of directors are choſen ſeveral committees, who have the peculiar inſpection of certain branches of the company's buſineſs; as the committee of correſpondence, a committee of buying, a committee of treaſury, a houſe-committee, a committee of warehouſes, a committee of ſhipping, a committee of accompts, a committee of law-ſuits, and a committee to prevent the growth of private trade, &c. who have under them a ſecretary, caſhier, clerks, warehouſe-keepers, &c.

Other officers of the company are governors and factors abroad, ſome of whom have guards of ſoldiers, and live in all the ſtate of ſovereign princes.

Of the Bank of England.

The company of the bank was incorporated by parliament, in the 5th and 6th years of king William and queen Mary, by the name of the Governor and Company of the Bank of England; in conſideration of the loan of 1,200,000 l. granted to the government; for which the ſubſcribers received almoſt 8 per cent. By this charter, the company are not to borrow under their common ſeal, unleſs by act of parliament; they are not to trade, or ſuffer any perſon in truſt for them, to trade in any goods, or merchandize; but they may deal in bills of exchange, in buying or ſelling bullion, and foreign gold and ſilver coin, &c.

By an act of parliament paſſed in the 8th and 9th year of king William III. they were impowered to enlarge their capital ſtock to 2,201,171 l. 10 s. It was then alſo enacted, that bank ſtock ſhould be a perſonal, and not a real eſtate; that no contract either in word or writing, for buying or ſelling bank ſtock, ſhould be good in law, unleſs regiſtered in the books of the bank within ſeven days; and the ſtock transferred in 14 days, and that it ſhould be felony, without benefit of clergy, to counterfeit the common ſeal of the bank, or any ſealed bank bill, or any bank note, or to alter or eraſe ſuch bills or notes.

By another act paſſed in the 7th of queen Anne, the company were impowered to augment their capital to 4,402,343 l. and they then advanced 400,000 l. more to the government, and in 1714, they advanced another loan of 1,500,000 l.

In the third year of the reign of king George I. the intereſt of their capital ſtock was reduced to 5 per cent. when the bank agreed to deliver up as many exchequer bills as amounted to 2,000,000 l. and to accept

accept an annuity of 100,000 l. and it was declared lawful for the bank to call from their members, in proportion to their intereſts in the capital ſtock, ſuch ſums of money as in a general court ſhould be found neceſſary. If any member ſhould neglect to pay his ſhare of the monies ſo called for, at the time appointed by notice in the London Gazette, and fixed upon the Royal exchange, it ſhould be lawful for the bank, not only to ſtop the dividend of ſuch member, and to apply it toward payment of the money in queſtion; but alſo to ſtop the transfers of the ſhare of ſuch defaulter, and to charge him with an intereſt of 5 l. per cent. per annum, for the money ſo omitted to be paid: and if the principal and intereſt ſhould be three months unpaid, the bank ſhould then have power to ſell ſo much of the ſtock belonging to the defaulter as would ſatisfy the ſame.

After this, the bank reduced the intereſt of the 2,000,000 l. lent to the government, from 5 to 4 per cent. and purchaſed ſeveral other annuities, which were afterward redeemed by the government, and the national debt due to the bank reduced to 1,600,000 l. But in 1742, the company engaged to ſupply the government with 1,600,000 l. at 3 per cent. which is now called the 3 per cent. annuities, ſo that the government was now indebted to the company 3,200,000 l. the one half carrying 4, and the other 3 per cent.

In the year 1746, the company agreed that the ſum of 986,800 l. due to them in the exchequer bills unſatisfied, on the duties for licences to ſell ſpirituous liquors by retail, ſhould be cancelled, and in lieu thereof to accept of an annuity of 39,442 l. the intereſt of that ſum at 4 per cent. The company alſo agreed to advance the further ſum of 1,000,000 l. into the exchequer, upon the credit of the duties ariſing by the malt and land-tax, at 4 per cent. for exchequer bills to be iſſued for that purpoſe; in conſideration of which the company were enabled to

augment their capital with 986,800 l. the intereſt of which, as well as that of the other annuities, was reduced to 3 l. 10 s. per cent. till the 25th of December 1757, and from that time to carry only 3 per cent.

And in order to enable them to circulate the ſaid exchequer bills, they eſtabliſhed what is now called bank circulation. The nature of which, not being well underſtood, we ſhall take the liberty to be a little more particular in its explanation than we have been with regard to the other ſtocks.

The company of the bank are obliged to keep caſh ſufficient to anſwer not only the common, but alſo any extraordinary demand that may be made upon them; and whatever money they have by them, over and above the ſum ſuppoſed neceſſary for theſe purpoſes, they employ in what may be called the trade of the company; that is to ſay, in diſcounting bills of exchange, in buying of gold and ſilver, and in government ſecurities, &c. But when the bank entered into the above-mentioned contract, as they did not keep unemployed a larger ſum of money than what they deemed neceſſary to anſwer their ordinary and extraordinary demands, they could not conveniently take out of their current caſh ſo large a ſum as a million, with which they were obliged to furniſh the government, without either leſſening that ſum they employed in diſcounting, buying gold and ſilver, &c. (which would have been very diſadvantageous to them) or inventing ſome method that ſhould anſwer all the purpoſes of keeping the million in caſh. The method which they choſe, and which fully anſwers their end, was as follows.

They opened a ſubſcription, which they renew annually, for a million of money; wherein the ſubſcribers advance 10 per cent. and enter into a contract to pay the remainder, or any part thereof, whenever the bank ſhall call upon them, under the penalty of forfeiting the 10 per cent. ſo advanced; in conſideration of which, the bank pays the ſubſcribers

4 per

4 per cent. intereſt for the money paid in, and $\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. for the whole ſum they agree to furniſh; and in caſe a call ſhould be made upon them for the whole, or any part thereof, the bank farther agrees to pay them at the rate of 5 per cent. per annum for ſuch ſum till they repay it, which they are under an obligation to do at the end of the year. By this means the bank obtains all the purpoſes of keeping a million of money by them; and though the ſubſcribers, if no call is made upon them (which is in general the caſe) receive 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. for the money they advance, yet the company gains the ſum of 23,500 l. per annum by the contract; as will appear by the following account.

	£.
The bank receives from the government for the advance of a million —	30,000
The bank pays to the ſubſcribers who advance 100,000 l. and engage to pay (when called for) 900,000 l. more	6,500
The clear gain to the bank therefore is	23,500

This is the ſtate of the caſe, provided the company ſhould make no call on the ſubſcribers, which they will be very unwilling to do, becauſe it would not only leſſen their profit, but affect the public credit in general.

Bank ſtock may not improperly be called a trading ſtock, ſince with this they deal very largely in foreign gold and ſilver, in diſcounting bills of exchange, &c. Beſide which, they are allowed by the government very conſiderable ſums annually for the management of the annuities paid at their office. All which advantages render a ſhare in their ſtock very valuable, tho' it is not equal in value to the Eaſt India ſtock. The company make dividends of the profits half yearly, of which notice is publicly given; when thoſe who have occaſion for their money may readily receive it; but private perſons, if they judge convenient, are permitted

permitted to continue their funds, and to have their intereſt added to the principal.

This company is under the direction of a governor, deputy-governor, and 24 directors, who are annually elected by the general court, in the ſame manner as in the Eaſt India company. Thirteen, or more, compoſe a court of directors for managing the affairs of the company.

The officers of this company are very numerous.

Of the South Sea Company.

During the long war with France in the reign of queen Anne, the payment of the ſailors of the royal navy being neglected, and they receiving tickets inſtead of money, were frequently obliged by their neceſſities to ſell theſe tickets to avaritious men at a diſcount of 40 l. and ſometimes 50 l. per cent. By this and other means the debts of the nation unprovided for by parliament, and which amounted to 9,471,321 l. fell into the hands of theſe uſurers. On which, Mr. Harley, at that time chancellor of the exchequer, and afterward earl of Oxford, propoſed a ſcheme to allow the proprietors of theſe debts and deficiencies 6 l. per cent. per annum, and to incorporate them in order to their carrying on a trade to the South Sea; and they were accordingly incorporated under the title of the Governor and Company of Merchants of Great Britain, trading to the South Seas, and other parts of America, and for encouraging the Fiſhery, &c.

Though this company ſeem formed for the ſake of commerce, it is certain the miniſtry never thought ſeriouſly during the courſe of the war, about making any ſettlements on the coaſt of South America, which was what flattered the expectations of the people; nor was it indeed ever carried into execution, or any trade ever undertaken by this company, except the Aſſiento, in purſuance of the treaty of Utrecht, for furniſhing the Spaniards with negroes, of which this company

company was deprived by the late convention between the courts of Great Britain and Spain, ſoon after the treaty of Aix la Chapelle in 1748.

After this, ſome other ſums were lent to the government in the reign of queen Anne at 6 per cent. In the third of George I. the intereſt of the whole was reduced to 5 per cent. and they advanced two millions more to the government at the ſame intereſt. By the ſtatute of the 6th of George I. it was declared, that this company might redeem all or any of the redeemable national debts, in conſideration of which the company were empowered to augment their capital according to the ſums they ſhould diſcharge: and for enabling the company to raiſe ſuch ſums for purchaſing annuities, exchanging for ready money new exchequer bills, carrying on their trade, &c. the company might by ſuch means as they ſhould think proper, raiſe ſuch ſums of money as in a general court of the company ſhould be judged neceſſary. The company were alſo impowered to raiſe money on contracts, bills, bonds or obligations under their common ſeal, on the credit of their capital ſtock. But if the ſub-governor, deputy-governor, or other members of the company ſhould purchaſe lands or revenues of the crown, upon account of the corporation, or lend money by loan or anticipation, on any branch of the revenue, other than ſuch part only on which a credit of loan was granted by parliament, ſuch ſub-governor, or other member of the company, ſhould forfeit treble the value of the money ſo lent.

The fatal South Sea ſcheme tranſacted in the year 1720, was executed upon the laſt-mentioned ſtatute. The company had at firſt ſet out with good ſucceſs, and the value of their ſtock for the firſt five years had riſen faſter than that of any other company, and his majeſty, after purchaſing 10,000 l. ſtock, had condeſcended to be their governor. Things were in this ſituation, when taking advantage of the above ſtatute, the South Sea bubble was projected. The

pretended

pretended deſign of which was to raiſe a fund for carrying on a trade to the South Seas, and purchaſing annuities, &c. paid to the other companies: and propoſals were printed and diſtributed ſhewing the advantages of the deſign, and inviting perſons into it. The ſum neceſſary for carrying it on, together with the profits that were to ariſe from it, were divided into a certain number of ſhares, or ſubſcriptions to be purchaſed by perſons diſpoſed to adventure therein. And the better to carry on the deception, the directors engaged to make very large dividends, and actually declared, that every 100 l. original ſtock would yield 50 l. per annum, which occaſioned ſo great a riſe of their ſtock, that a ſhare of 100 l. was ſold for upward of 1000 l. This was in the month of July; but before the end of September it fell to 150 l. by which multitudes were ruined, and ſuch a ſcene of diſtreſs occaſioned as is ſcarcely to be conceived. But the conſequences of this infamous ſcheme are too well known. We ſhall paſs over all the other tranſactions of this company in the reign of king George I. as not material to our preſent purpoſe.

By a ſtatute of the 6th of his late majeſty, it was enacted, that from and after the 24th of June 1733, the capital ſtock of this company, which amounted to 14,651,103 l. 8 s. 1 d. and the ſhares of the reſpective proprietors, ſhould be divided into four equal parts, three-fourths of which ſhould be converted into a joint ſtock, attended with annuities, after the rate of 4 per cent. until redemption by parliament, and ſhould be called, the new South Sea annuities, and the other fourth part ſhould remain in the company as a trading capital ſtock, attended with the reſidue of the annuities or funds payable at the exchequer to the company for their whole capital, till redemption; and attended with the ſame ſums allowed for charges of management, and with all effects, profits of trade, debts, privileges and advantages belonging to the South Sea company. That

the

the accomptant of the company ſhould twice every year, at Chriſtmas and Midſummer, or within one month after, ſtate an account of the company's affairs, which ſhould be laid before the next general court, in order to their declaring a dividend: and all dividends ſhould be made out of the clear profits, and ſhould not exceed what the company might reaſonably divide, without incurring any farther debt; provided that the company ſhould not at any time divide more than 4 per cent. per annum, until their debts were diſcharged; and that the South Sea company, and their trading ſtock, ſhould, excluſively from the new joint ſtock of annuities, be liable to all the debts and incumbrances of the company; and that the company ſhould cauſe to be kept within the city of London, an office and books, in which all transfers of the new annuities ſhould be entered and ſigned by the party making ſuch transfer, or his attorney, and the perſon to whom ſuch transfer ſhould be made, or his attorney, ſhould under-write his apceptance, and no other method of transferring the annuities ſhould be good in law.

The annuities of this company, as well as the other, are now reduced to 3 l. per cent.

This company is under the direction of a governor, ſub-governor, deputy-governor, and 21 directors; but no perſon is qualified to be governor, his majeſty excepted, unleſs ſuch governor has in his own name and right, 5000 l. in the trading ſtock; the ſub-governor is to have 4000 l. the deputy 3000 l. and a director 2000 l. in the ſame ſtock. In every general court, every member having in his own name and right 500 l. in trading ſtock, has one vote; if 2000 l. two votes; if 3000 l. three votes, and if 5000 l. four votes.

The Eaſt India company, the bank of England, and the South Sea company, are the only incorporated bodies to which the government is indebted, except the million bank, whoſe capital is only one million,

million, conſtituted to purchaſe the reverſion of the long exchequer orders.

The intereſt of all the debts owing by the government is now reduced to 3 per cent. excepting only the annuities for the years 1756, and 1758, the life annuities, and the exchequer orders: but the South Sea company ſtill continues to divide four per cent. on their preſent capital ſtock, which they are enabled to do from the profits they make on the ſums allowed to them for management of the annuities paid at their office, and from the intereſt of annuities which are not claimed by the proprietors.

As the prices of the different ſtocks are continually fluctuating above and below par; ſo when a perſon who is not acquainted with tranſactions of that nature, reads in the papers the prices of ſtocks, where bank ſtock is marked perhaps 127 l. India ditto 134 a 134 ¼. South Sea ditto 97 ½, &c. he is to underſtand that a 100 l. of thoſe reſpective ſtocks ſell at ſuch a time for thoſe ſeveral ſums.

In comparing the prices of the different ſtocks one with another, it muſt be remembered, that the intereſt due on them from the time of the laſt payment, is taken into the current price, and the ſeller never receives any ſeparate conſideration for it, except in the caſe of India bonds, where the intereſt due is calculated to the day of the ſale, and paid by the purchaſer over and above the premium agreed for. But as the intereſt on the different ſtocks is paid at different times, this, if not rightly underſtood, would lead a perſon not well acquainted with them into conſiderable miſtakes in his computation of their value; ſome always having a quarter's intereſt due on them more than others, which makes an appearance of a conſiderable difference in the price, when, in reality, there is none at all. Thus, for inſtance, old South Sea annuities ſell at preſent for £. 85 ½ or £ 85 10 s. while new South Sea annuities fetch only £ 84 ¾, or £ 84 15 s. though each of them produce

the ſame annual ſum of £ 3 per cent. but the old annuities have a quarter's intereſt more due on them than the new annuities, which amounts to 15 s. the exact difference. There is, however, one or two cauſes that will always make one ſpecies of annuities ſell ſomewhat lower than another, though of the ſame real value, one of which is, the annuities making but a ſmall capital, and there not being, for that reaſon, ſo many people at all times ready to buy into it, as into others, where the quantity is larger; becauſe it is apprehended that whenever the government pays off the national debt, they will begin with that particular ſpecies of annuity, the capital of which is the ſmalleſt.

A ſtock may likewiſe be affected by the court of Chancery; for if that court ſhould order the money which is under their direction to be laid out in any particular ſtock, that ſtock, by having more purchaſers, will be raiſed to a higher price than any other of the like value.

By what has been ſaid, the reader will perceive how much the credit and intereſt of the nation depends on the ſupport of the public funds.—While the annuities, and intereſt for money advanced is there regularly paid, and the principal inſured by both prince and people (a ſecurity not to be had in other nations) foreigners will lend us their property, and all Europe be intereſted in our welfare; the paper of the companies will be converted into money and merchandize, and Great Britain can never want caſh to carry her ſchemes into execution.

In other nations, credit is founded on the word of the prince, if a monarchy; or that of the people, if a republic; but here it is eſtabliſhed on the intereſts of both prince and people, which is the ſtrongeſt ſecurity: for however lovely and engaging honeſty may be in other reſpects, intereſt in money-matters will always obtain confidence; becauſe many people pay great regard to their intereſt, who have but little veneration for virtue.

A ſhort

A ſhort Deſcription of London *.

London, the metropolis of Great Britain, including Weſtminſter and Southwark, is a city of a very ſurpriſing extent, of prodigious wealth, and of the moſt extenſive trade; it is at once the largeſt and richeſt city in Europe. This city is now what ancient Rome once was; the ſeat of liberty, the encourager of arts, and the admiration of the whole world.

It is ſituated on the banks of the Thames, a river, which, though not the largeſt in the world, is of the greateſt ſervice to its commerce. It being continually filled with fleets, ſailing to or from the moſt diſtant climates; and its banks being from London-bridge to Blackwall, almoſt one continued great magazine of naval ſtores, containing three large wet docks, 32 dry docks, and 33 yards for the building of ſhips, for the uſe of the merchants, beſide the places allotted for the building of boats and lighters; and the king's yards lower down the river for building men of war. As this city is about ſixty miles diſtant from the ſea, it enjoys, by means of this river, all the benefits of navigation, without the danger of being ſurpriſed by foreign fleets, or of being annoyed by the moiſt vapours of the ſea. It riſes regularly from the water-ſide, and extending itſelf on both ſides along its banks, reaches a prodigious length from eaſt to weſt; ſurrounded on both ſides by a number of large and populous villages, adorned with handſome commodious buildings, the country-ſeats of gentlemen and tradeſmen; whither the latter retire for the benefit of the freſh air, and to relax their minds from the hurry of buſineſs.

* London is ſituated in 51° 30′ north latitude, 400 miles ſouth of Edinburgh, and 270 ſouth-eaſt of Dublin; 210 north-weſt of Paris, 180 miles weſt of Amſterdam, 500 ſouth-weſt of Copenhagen, 600 north-weſt of Vienna, 1360 north-weſt of Conſtantinople, 800 north-eaſt of Madrid, 850 north-eaſt of Liſbon, and 820 north-weſt of Rome.

The

A Plan for Rebuilding the City of London after the Great Fire in 1666;
Design'd by that Great Architect Sr. Chris.r Wren; & approv'd of by King & Parliament, but unhappily defeated by Faction.

Clerkenwell
Charter House Square
Long Lane
Chick Lane
Smithfield
Hosier Lane
Holborn
Holborn Bridge
Fetter Lane
Fleet Street
Lincolns Inn Fields
Lincolns Inn
Chancery Lane
Temple Barr
Wich Street
Strand
Strand Bridge
Temple Garden
St. Dunstans Church
Piazza
Fleet Bridge
Ludgate
Wood
Mark.t
London Wall
Key
Bridewell Dock
The Grand Terras with the Public Halls.
Queen Hithe
Canal
Newgate
Aldersgate
Guild Hall
St. Pauls
Piazza
Cripple Gate
London Wall
Bedlam
Moore Gate
Moore Fields
Broad Street
Bishop Gate
London Wall
Royal Exchange
Piazza
Gold Smiths
Bank
Post Office
Excise Office
Leaden-hall Street
Aldgate
London Wall
Great Tower Hill
Tower
Custom House
Billings-gate
Key
Dongate
London Bridge

That part of the Plan strongly shadow'd, shews y.e extent of y.e Conflagration, with S.r Christophers Design for Rebuilding the same, the Churches are mar'd thus +. and Markets thus ☿

A Scale of 880 Yards, or ½ a Mile.

100 200 300 400 500 600 700 800 880

Sparrow Sculp:

A PLAN OF THE CITIES OF LONDON AND WESTMINSTER, AND BOROUGH OF SOUTHWARK, WITH THE NEW BUILDINGS 1767.

Lambs Conduit Fields
Bloomsbury Square
Queen Square
Foundling Hospital
New Road Turnpike
Tottenham Court
Bilsons Farm
Marylebone Gardens
Portland Place
Queen Ann Square
Whitefields Tabernacle
Ed. Baltimore
Bedford House
Bloomsbury Square
Grays Inn
HIGH HOLBORN
OXFORD STREET
TYBURN ROAD
BROAD St. GILES
Inn Fields
Lincolns
Middle Row
Holborn Bars
Holborn Hill
FLEET STREET
Temple Bar
Temple
Somerset House
THE STRAND
Charing Cross
PALL MALL
PICCADILLY
HYDE PARK CORNER
THE GREEN PARK
ST JAMES PARK
Constitution Hill
Buckingham House
Queens Palace
Bridewell
Whitehall Stairs
Kings Arms Stairs
Privy Garden Stairs
Manchester Stairs
Parliament Stairs
Stangate Stairs
Lambeth Palace
Lambeth Stairs
Horse Ferry
White Hart Stairs
TOTHILL FIELDS
Asylum
NEW ROAD
Lambeth Marsh
Dog Duck
Road to Kensington Gravel Pits
Fishmongers Alms Houses
Newrs Garden
Burrs
St Georges Kings Bench Prison
Blackman St
Church & Burying Ground
Snow Fields
Horsemonger Lane
Gaol
Mint
Mint Street
Borough High Street
Tooley Street
Tower Wharf
Tower
THAMES
RIVER
The City Road
Haberdashers Hospital
Hoxton Square
St Agnes le Clair
Old Street
Bunhill Row
Chiswell Street
Moorfields
Windmill Hill Row
the Artillery Ground
Upper Moor Fields
Middle Moor Fields
Lower Moor Fields
Finsbury Square
Finsbury Circus
Broad Street
Threadneedle Street
Bishopsgate Street
Leadenhall Street
CORNHILL
Gracechurch Street
Lombard Street
Cheapside
Poultry
Cannon Street
Watling Street
Walbrook
Old Jewry
Basinghall Street
Aldermanbury
Wood Street
Milk Street
Bread Street
Friday Street
Queen Street
Upper Thames Street
Lower Thames Street
Fish Street Hill
Billingsgate
Custom House
Three Cranes
Vintners Hall
Dowgate Hill
Cannon Street Bridge
London Bridge
Old London Bridge
Southwark Bridge
Blackfriars Bridge
Ludgate Hill
Ludgate
Fleet Ditch
Fleet Market
Fleet Bridge
Shoe Lane
Holborn Bridge
Snow Hill
Skinner St
Newgate Street
Newgate
Giltspur Street
Cow Cross
Smithfield
Charter House Square
Charter House
Aldersgate Street
Goswell Street
Barbican
Red Cross Street
Golden Lane
Whitecross Street
Old Street Road
Hackney Road
Shoreditch
Bishopsgate Without
Bishopsgate Street
Norton Folgate
Spitalfields
Brick Lane
Whitechapel
Whitechapel Road
Mile End Old Town
Mile End New Town
Ducking Pond Row
Church Street
Bethnal Green
New Road to Bethnal Green
St Matthew
Hare Street
Globe Fields
Ratcliff
Ratcliff Cross
Limehouse
Limehouse Hole
Limehouse Cut
Poplar
Poplar Marsh
Blue Gate Fields
Back Lane
Sun Tavern Fields
Upper Shadwell
Shadwell Dock
Wapping
Wapping Wall
Execution Dock
Rosemary Lane
Tower Hill
Tower Wharf
Goodmans Fields
Pericot St
Cable St
Rosemary Lane
Little Tower Hill
Southfield
Mansell St
Leman Street
Prescot Street
Chamber St
Nightingale Lane
Ship Yard
Brewers Hall
Pump
Pump Court
Pump Alley
Pump Yard
Pump Street
Pump Lane
Pump Row
Pump Place
Pump Square
Pump Terrace
Pump Gardens
Pump Hill
Pump Bridge
Pump Wharf
Pump Dock
Pump Basin
Pump Canal
Pump Ditch
Pump Marsh
Pump Meadow
Pump Field
Pump Common
Pump Heath
Pump Wood
Pump Grove
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Pump Farm
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Pump Chapel Church

The irregular form of this city makes it difficult to aſcertain its extent. However, its length from eaſt to weſt, is generally allowed to be above ſeven miles; and its breadth, in ſome places, three, in other two; and in other again not much above half a mile. But it is much eaſier to form an idea of the large extent of a city ſo irregularly built, by the number of the people, who are computed to be near a million; and from the number of edifices devoted to the ſervice of religion. Of theſe, beſide St. Paul's cathedral, and the collegiate church at Weſtminſter, there are 102 pariſh-churches, and 69 chapels of the eſtabliſhed religion; 21 French proteſtant chapels; 8 chapels belonging to the Germans, Dutch, Danes, &c. 33 baptiſt meetings; 26 independent meetings; 28 preſbyterian meetings; 14 popiſh chapels, and meeting-houſes for the uſe of foreign ambaſſadors, and people of various ſects; and 3 Jews ſynagogues. So that there are 318 places devoted to religious worſhip, in the compaſs of this vaſt pile of buildings, without reckoning the 21 out-pariſhes, uſually included within the bills of mortality.

Of theſe churches the moſt famous is St. Paul's cathedral, which is the nobleſt of all the proteſtant churches in the world. This is an edifice equally remarkable for its beauty and magnificence, containing as few faults as the nature and extent of ſo large a building will admit. It is built according to the Greek and Roman orders, under the direction of that celebrated architect Sir Chriſtopher Wren, after the model of St. Peter's at Rome. The length within is 500 feet; and its height, from the marble pavement to the croſs on the top of the cupola is 340. The expence of rebuilding this cathedral after the fire of London, is computed at about 800,000 l.

Weſtminſter-Abbey, or the collegiate church of Weſtminſter, is a venerable pile of building, in the Gothic taſte. It was firſt built by Edward the Confeſſor; king Henry III. rebuilt it from the ground, and Henry VII. added a fine chapel to the eaſt end

of it: this is the repoſitory of the deceaſed Britiſh kings and nobility; and here are alſo monuments erected to the memory of many great and illuſtrious perſonages.

Among the other churches, the moſt remarkable are St. Paul's Covent-Garden, the churches of St. Mary le Bow, and St. Bride's; the two latter for having the fineſt ſteeples in the world. The inſide of the church of St. Stephen, Walbroke, is admired all over Europe. And, in ſhort, the contrivance and beauty of many other churches, conſidering how they were obliged to be thruſt up in corners, is ſurpriſingly fine. It is a great misfortune, that though this city abounds with the moſt elegant ſtructures, and the moſt magnificent public and private buildings, yet they are placed in ſuch a manner as muſt tempt every foreigner to believe that they were deſigned to be concealed.

There are here alſo two royal palaces, St. James's and Somerſet-houſe, both of them, eſpecially the firſt, greatly beneath the dignity of a king of Great Britain; as to the latter, it has been generally the reſidence of the queen-dowagers of England.

There are alſo in and near this city 100 almshouſes, about 20 hoſpitals and infirmaries, 3 colleges, 10 public priſons, 15 fleſh-markets; 1 market for live cattle, 2 other markets more particularly for herbs; and 23 other markets for corn, coals, hay, &c. 15 inns of court, 27 public ſquares, beſide thoſe within any ſingle buildings, as the Temple, &c. 49 halls for companies, 8 public ſchools, called free-ſchools; and 131 charity-ſchools, which provide education for 5034 poor children; 7000 ſtreets, lanes, courts, and alleys, and 130,000 dwelling-houſes.

The bridges of London and Weſtminſter are beheld with admiration by all foreigners; that of London conſiſts of 19 ſtone arches, 20 feet between each; it is 900 feet long, 30 wide, and 60 feet high; and has a draw-bridge in the middle. The Thames in this part is 915 feet broad.

Weſtminſter-bridge is reckoned one of the moſt compleat and elegant ſtructures of the kind in the known world. It is built entirely of ſtone, and extended over the river at a place where it is 1,223 feet broad; which is above 300 feet broader than at London-bridge. On each ſide is a fine balluſtrade of ſtone, with places of ſhelter from the rain. The width of the bridge is 44 feet, having on each ſide a fine footway for paſſengers. It conſiſts of 14 piers, and 13 large, and two ſmall arches, that in the center being 76 feet wide, and the reſt decreaſing four feet each from the other; ſo that the two leaſt arches of the 13 great ones, are each 52 feet. It is computed that the value of 40,000 l. in ſtone and other materials is always under water. This magnificent ſtructure was built in 11 years and nine months, and coſt about 389,500 l.

Another elegant bridge is building at Black Friars, at the expence of the city of London; which, being ſituated near the center of this metropolis, will be of the utmoſt convenience to town and country.

Weſtminſter-hall, though on the outſide it makes a mean, and no very advantageous appearance, is a noble Gothick building, and is ſaid to be the largeſt room in the world, it being 220 feet long, and 70 broad. Its roof is the fineſt of its kind that can be ſeen. Here is held the coronation feaſts of our kings and queens; alſo the courts of chancery, king's-bench, and common-pleas, and above ſtairs, that of the exchequer.

That beautiful column, called the Monument, erected at the charge of the city, to perpetuate the memory of its being deſtroyed by fire, is juſtly worthy of notice. This column exceeds all the obeliſks and pillars of the ancients, it being 202 feet high, with a ſtair-caſe in the middle to aſcend to the balcony, which is about 30 feet ſhort of the top, from whence there are other ſteps, made for perſons to look out at the top of all, which is faſhioned like an urn, with a flame iſſuing from it. On the baſe of

the Monument, next the ſtreet, the deſtruction of the city is emblematically repreſented in bas relief. The north and ſouth ſides of the baſe have each a Latin inſcription, the one deſcribing its dreadful deſolation, and the other its ſplendid reſurrection; and on the eaſt ſide is an inſcription, ſhewing when the pillar was begun and finiſhed. The charge of erecting this monument amounted to upward of 13,000 l.

The Royal Exchange is a large noble building, and is ſaid to have coſt above 80,000 l.

We might here give a deſcription of the Tower *, Bank of England, the New-treaſury, the Admiralty-office,

* In examining the curioſities of the Tower of London, it will be proper to begin with thoſe on the outſide the principal gate; the firſt thing a ſtranger uſually goes to viſit is the wild beaſts; which, from their ſituation, firſt preſent themſelves: for having entered the outer gate, and paſſed what is called the ſpur-guard, the keeper's houſe preſents itſelf before you, which is known by a painted lion on the wall, and another over the door which leads to their dens. By ringing a bell, and paying ſix-pence each perſon, you may eaſily gain admittance.

The next place worthy of obſervation is the Mint, which comprehends near one third of the Tower, and contains houſes for all the officers belonging to the coinage. On paſſing the principal gate you ſee the White Tower, built by William the Conqueror. This is a large, ſquare, irregular ſtone building, ſituated almoſt in the center, no one ſide anſwering to another, nor are any of its watch towers, of which there are four at the top, built alike. One of theſe towers is now converted into an obſervatory. In the firſt ſtory are two noble rooms, one of which is a ſmall armoury for the ſea ſervice, it having various ſorts of arms, very curiouſly laid up, for above 10,000 ſeamen. In the other room are many cloſets and preſſes, all filled with warlike engines and inſtruments of death. Over this are two other floors, one principally filled with arms; the other with arms and other warlike inſtruments, as ſpades, ſhovels, pick-axes, and cheveaux de frize. In the upper ſtory are kept match, ſheep-ſkins, tanned hides, &c. and in a little room, called Julius Cæſar's chapel, are depoſited ſome records, containing perhaps the ancient uſages and cuſtoms of the place. In this building are alſo preſerved models of the new invented engines of deſtruction, that have from time to time been preſented to the government. Near the ſouth-weſt angle of the White Tower is the Spaniſh armoury, in which are depoſited the ſpoils of what was vainly called the Invincible Armada; in order to perpetuate to lateſt poſterity, the

office, the Banqueting-houſe at Whitehall, the Mews, where the king's horſes are kept; the Manſion-houſe

the memory of that ſignal victory, obtained by the Engliſh over the whole naval power of Spain, in the reign of Philip II.

The trophies preſerved here of this memorable victory, with ſome other curioſities, are, 1. A Spaniſh battle-ax, ſo contrived as to ſtrike four holes in a man's ſkull at once; it has beſide, a piſtol in its handle, with a match lock. 2. The Spaniſh general's halbert, covered with velvet. All the nails are double gilt, and on the top is the pope's head, curiouſly engraven. 3. The Spaniſh morning ſtar; a deſtructive engine in the form of a ſtar; of which there were many thouſands on board, and all of them with poiſoned points; deſigned to ſtrike at the Engliſh, in caſe they boarded them. 4. Thumb-ſcrews, of which there were ſeveral cheſts full on board the Spaniſh fleet. The uſe they were intended for is ſaid to have been, to extort confeſſion from the Engliſh where their money was hid, had they prevailed.——Certain it is, that, after the defeat, the whole converſation of the court and country turned upon the diſcoveries made by the Spaniſh priſoners, of the racks, the wheels, and the whips of wire, with which they were to ſcourge the Engliſh of every rank, age, and ſex. The moſt noted heretics were to be put to death; thoſe who ſurvived were to be branded on the forehead with a hot iron; and the whole form of government, both in church and ſtate, was to be overturned. 5. A Spaniſh poll-ax, uſed in boarding of ſhips. 6. Spaniſh halberts, or ſpears, ſome of them curiouſly engraved, and inlaid with gold. 7. Spaniſh Spadas, or long ſwords, poiſoned at the points, ſo that if a man received but ever ſo ſlight a wound, it would prove certain death. 8. Spaniſh cravats, as they are called; theſe are engines of torture, made of iron, and put on board to lock the feet, arms, and heads of Engliſh heretics together. 9. Spaniſh bilboes, alſo made of iron, to yoke the Engliſh priſoners two and two. 10. Spaniſh ſhot, which are of four ſorts; ſpike-ſhot, ſtar-ſhot, chain-ſhot, and link-ſhot; all admirably contrived, as well for the deſtruction of the maſts and rigging of ſhips, as for ſweeping the men off the decks. 11. The banner, with a crucifix upon it, which was to have been carried before the Spaniſh general. Upon it is the pope's benediction before the Spaniſh fleet ſailed; for the pope, it is ſaid, came to the water-ſide, and ſeeing the fleet, bleſſed it, and ſtiled it INVINCIBLE. 12. An uncommon piece of arms, being a piſtol in a ſhield, ſo contrived that the piſtol might be fired, and the body covered at the ſame time. It is to be fired by a match-lock, and the ſight of the enemy taken through a little grate in the ſhield, which is piſtol-proof. 13. The Spaniſh rangeur, made

ſion-houſe of the lord mayor, the Cuſtom-houſe, India-houſe, and a vaſt number of other public buildings; beſide

in different forms, and intended either to kill the men on horſe-back, or to pull them off their horſes. At the back is a ſpike, which, your attendants ſay, was to pick the roaſt beef out of the Engliſhman's teeth. And on one of them is a piece of ſilver coin, which they intended to make current in England. On this coin are three heads, ſuppoſed to be the Pope's, Philip II's, and queen Mary's.——This is a curioſity which moſt Spaniards who arrive in London come to ſee, 14. The Spaniſh officers lances, finely engraved. Theſe were formerly gilt, but the gilding is now almoſt worn off with cleaning. It is ſaid, that when Don Pedro de Valdez, a captain of one of the Spaniſh ſhips that was taken, paſſed his examination before lord Burleigh, he told his lordſhip, that thoſe fine poliſhed lances were put on board to bleed the Engliſh with; to which that nobleman merrily replied, that, if he were not miſtaken, the Engliſh had performed that operation better on their good friends the Spaniards, with worſe inſtruments. 15. The common ſoldiers pikes, 18 feet in length, pointed with long ſharp ſpikes, and ſhod with iron; deſigned to keep off the horſe, to facilitate the landing of their foot. 16. The laſt thing ſhewn of theſe memorable ſpoils, is the Spaniſh general's ſhield, not worn by him; but carried before him as an enſign of honour. Upon it are depicted, in moſt curious workmanſhip, ſome of the labours of Hercules, and other allegories, which ſeem to throw a ſhade upon the boaſted ſkill of modern artiſts. This was made near an hundred years before the art of printing was known in England; and upon it is the following inſcription, in Roman characters, ADVLTERIO DEIANIRA CONSPURCANS OCCIDITUR CACVS AB HERCVL. OPPRIMITVR 1379. 17. The other curioſities depoſited here, are Daniſh and Saxon clubs, weapons which each of thoſe people are ſaid to have uſed in their conqueſt of England. Theſe are, perhaps, curioſities of the greateſt antiquity of any in the Tower, they having lain there above 850 years. The warders call them the womens weapons, becauſe, ſay they, "the Britiſh women made prize of them, when, in one night, they all conſpired together, and cut the throats of 35,000 Danes; the greateſt piece of ſecrecy the Engliſh women ever kept, for which they have ever ſince been honoured with the right-hand of the man, the upper end of the table, and the firſt cut of every diſh of victuals they happen to like beſt." The maſſacre of the Danes was not, however, performed by the women alone, but by the private orders of Ethelred II. who in 1012, privately commanded his officers to extirpate thoſe cruel and tyrannical invaders. 18.

King

beſide the magnificent edifices raiſed by our nobility; as

King Henry VIII's walking ſtaff, which has three match-lock piſtols in it, with coverings to keep the charges dry. "With this ſtaff, the warders tell you, the king ſometimes walked round the city, to ſee that the conſtables did their duty; and one night, as he was walking near the bridge-foot, the conſtable ſtopt him, to know what he did with ſuch an unlucky weapon, at that time of the night. Upon which the king ſtruck him; but the conſtable calling the watchmen to his aſſiſtance, his majeſty was apprehended, and carried to the Poultry Compter, where he lay till morning, without either fire or candle. When the keeper was informed of the rank of his priſoner, he diſpatched a meſſenger to the conſtable, who came trembling with fear, expecting nothing leſs than to be hanged, drawn and quartered: but inſtead of that, the king applauded him for his reſolution in doing his duty, and made him a handſome preſent. At the ſame time he ſettled upon St. Magnus's pariſh, an annual grant of 23l. and a mark, and made a proviſion for furniſhing 30 chaldron of coals, and a large allowance of bread annually for ever, toward the comfortable relief of his fellow-priſoners and their ſucceſſors, which, the warders ſay, is paid them to this day." 19. A large wooden cannon, called Policy, becauſe, as we are informed, when king Henry VIII. beſieged Bouloigne, the roads being impaſſable for heavy cannon, he cauſed a number of theſe wooden ones to be made, and mounted on proper batteries before the town, as if real cannon; which ſo terrified the French commandant, that he gave up the place without firing a ſhot.——The truth is, the duke of Suffolk, who commanded at this ſiege under the king, ſoon made himſelf maſter of the lower town; but it was not till ſeven weeks afterward that the upper town capitulated, in which time the Engliſh ſuſtained great loſs in poſſeſſing themſelves of the bray. The warders muſt therefore be greatly miſtaken in their account of this piece. 20. The ax with which queen Anne Bullen, the mother of queen Elizabeth, was beheaded, on the 19th of May 1536. The earl of Eſſex, queen Elizabeth's favourite, was alſo beheaded with the ſame ax. 21. A ſmall train of ten pieces of pretty little cannon, neatly mounted on proper carriages, being a preſent from the foundery of London to king Charles I. when a child, to aſſiſt him in learning the art of gunnery. 22. Weapons made with the blades of ſcythes fixed ſtrait to the ends of poles. Theſe were taken from the duke of Monmouth's party, at the battle of Sedgemoore, in the reign of James II. 23. The partizans that were carried at the funeral of king William III. 24. The perfect model of the admirable machine, the idea of which was brought from Italy by Sir Thomas Lombe, and firſt erected at

as Charlton-houſe, Marlborough-houſe, and Buckingham-

Derby, at his own expence, for making orgazine or thrown ſilk. This model is well worth the obſervation of the curious.

You now come to the grand ſtore-houſe, a noble building, to the northward of the White Tower, that extends 245 feet in length, and 60 in breadth. It was begun by king James II. who built it to the firſt floor; but it was finiſhed by king William III. who erected that magnificent room called the New, or Small Armoury, in which that prince, with queen Mary, his conſort, dined in great form, having all the warrant workmen and labourers to attend them, dreſſed in white gloves and aprons, the uſual badges of the order of maſonry. To this noble room you are led by a folding door, adjoining to the eaſt end of the Tower chapel, which leads to a grand ſtaircaſe of 50 eaſy ſteps. On the left-ſide of the uppermoſt landing-place is the work-ſhop, in which are conſtantly employed about fourteen furbiſhers, in cleaning, repairing, and new placing the arms. On entering the armoury, you ſee what they call a wilderneſs of arms, ſo artfully diſpoſed, that at one view you behold arms for near 80,000 men, all bright, and fit for ſervice: a ſight which it is impoſſible to behold without aſtoniſhment; and beſide thoſe expoſed to view, there were, before the late war, ſixteen cheſts ſhut up, each cheſt holding about 1,200 muſkets. The arms were originally diſpoſed by Mr. Harris, who contrived to place them in this beautiful order, both here and in the guard-chamber of Hampton-court. He was a common gun-ſmith; but after he had performed this work, which is the admiration of people of all nations, he was allowed a penſion from the crown for his ingenuity. The north and ſouth walls are each adorned with eight pilaſters, formed of pikes 16 feet long, with capitals of the Corinthian order, compoſed of piſtols. At the weſt end, on the left-hand, as you enter, are two curious pyramids of piſtols, ſtanding upon crowns, globes, and ſcepters, finely carved and placed upon pedeſtals five feet high. At the eaſt, or farther end, in the oppoſite corner, are two ſuits of armour, one made for that warlike prince Henry V. and the other for his ſon Henry VI. over each of which is a ſemicircle of piſtols; between theſe is repreſented an organ, the large pipes compoſed of braſs blunderbuſſes, the ſmall of piſtols. On one ſide of the organ is the repreſentation of a fiery ſerpent, the head and tail of carved work, and the body of piſtols winding round, in the form of a ſnake; and on the other an hydra, whoſe ſeven heads are artfully combined by links of piſtols. The inner columns that compoſe the wilderneſs, round which you are conducted by your guides, are, 1. Some arms taken at Bath in the year 1715, diſtinguiſhed from

ham-houſe, in St. James's-park; the duke of Montague's,

from all others in the Tower, by having what is called dog-locks; that is, a kind of locks with a catch, to prevent their going off at half-cock. 2. Bayonets and piſtols put up in the forms of half moons and fans, with the imitation of a target in the center, made of bayonet blades. Theſe bayonets, of which ſeveral other fans are compoſed, are of the firſt invention, they having plug handles which go into the muzzle of the gun, inſtead of over it, and thereby prevent the firing of the piece, without ſhooting away the bayonet. Theſe were invented at Bayonne in Spain, and from that place take their name. 3. Braſs blunderbuſſes for ſea-ſervice, with capitols of piſtols over them. The waves of the ſea are here repreſented in old-faſhioned bayonets. 4. Bayonets and ſword-bayonets, in the form of half moons and fans, and ſet in carved ſcollop-ſhells. The ſword-bayonet is made like the old bayonet, with a plug handle, and differs from it only in being longer. 5. The riſing ſun irradiated with piſtols, ſet in a chequered frame of marine hangers, of a peculiar make, having braſs handles, and a dog's head on their pomels. 6. Four beautiful twiſted pillars, formed of piſtols up to the top, which is about 22 feet high, and placed at right angles; with the repreſentation of a falling ſtar on the cieling, exactly in the middle of them, being the center of this magnificent room. Into this place opens the grand ſtair-caſe door, for the admiſſion of the royal family, or any of the nobility, whoſe curioſity leads them to view the armoury; oppoſite to which opens another door into the balcony, that affords a fine proſpect of the parade, the governor's houſe, the ſurveyor-general's, the ſtore-keeper's, and other general officers in the Tower. 7. The form of a large pair of folding gates, made of ſerjeant's halberts, of an antique make. 8. Horſemen's carbines, hanging very artificially in furbeloes and flounces. 9. Meduſa's head, vulgarly called the Witch of Endor, within three regular ellipſes of piſtols, with ſnakes. The features are finely carved, and the whole figure contrived with the utmoſt art. This figure terminates the north ſide. 10. Facing the eaſt wall, as you turn round, is a grand figure of a lofty organ, 10 ranges high, in which are contained upward of 2,000 pairs of piſtols. 11. On the ſouth-ſide, as you return, the firſt figure that attracts attention, is Jupiter riding in a fiery chariot, drawn by eagles, as if in the clouds, holding a thunder-bolt in his left-hand; and over his head is a rainbow: this figure is finely carved, and decorated with bayonets. The figures on this ſide anſwer pretty nearly to thoſe on the other, and therefore need no farther deſcription, till you come again to the center; where, on each ſide the door leading to the balcony, you ſee, 12. A fine repreſentation in carved work, of the ſtar and garter, thiſtle, roſe

and

tague's, and the duke of Richmond's, in the Privy-garden;

and crown, ornamented with piſtols, &c. and very elegantly enriched with birds, &c. 13. The arms taken from Sir William Perkins, Sir John Friend, Charnock, and others concerned in the aſſaſſination-plot in 1696; among which they ſhew the very blunderbuſs with which they intended to ſhoot king William near Turnham Green, in his way to Hampton Court: alſo the carbine with which Charnock undertook to ſhoot that monarch, as he rode a hunting. 14. Laſtly, the Highlanders arms, taken in 1715, particularly the earl of Mar's fine piece, exquiſitely wrought, and inlaid with mother of pearl: alſo a Highland broad-ſword, with which a Highlander ſtruck general Evans, and at one blow ſtruck him through the hat, wig, and iron ſkull-cap; on which that general is ſaid to have ſhot him dead; others ſay, he was taken priſoner, and generouſly forgiven for his bravery. Here is alſo the ſword of juſtice, with a ſharp point, and the ſword of mercy, with a blunt point, carried before the pretender on his being proclaimed king of Scotland, in 1715. Here are likewiſe ſome of the Highlanders piſtols, the barrels and ſtocks being all iron; alſo a Highlander's Lochabor ax, with which it is ſaid that colonel Gardner was killed at the battle of Preſton Pans. A diſcerning eye will diſcover a thouſand peculiarities in the diſpoſition of ſo vaſt a variety of arms, which no deſcription can reach; and therefore it is fit that every one who has a taſte for the admirable combinations of art, ſhould gratify it with the ſight of the nobleſt curioſities of this kind in the whole world.

Upon the ground floor under the ſmall armoury, is a large room of equal dimenſions with that, ſupported by 20 pillars, all hung round with implements of war. This room, which is 24 feet high, has a paſſage in the middle 16 feet wide. At the ſight of ſuch a variety of the moſt dreadful engines of deſtruction, before whoſe thunder the moſt ſuperb edifices, the nobleſt works of art, and numbers of the human ſpecies, fall together in one common and undiſtinguiſhed ruin; one cannot help wiſhing that theſe horrible inventions had ſtill lain, like a falſe conception, in the womb of nature, never to have been ripened into birth. But when, on the other hand, we conſider, that with us they are not uſed to anſwer the purpoſes of ambition, but for ſelf defence, and in the protection of our juſt rights, our terror ſubſides, and we view theſe engines of devaſtation with a kind of ſolemn complacency, as the means Providence has put into our hands for our preſervation. 1. You are ſhewn two large pieces of cannon, employed by admiral Vernon before Carthagena; each of which has a large ſcale driven out of their muzzles by balls from the caſtle of Bocca Chica. 2. Two pieces of excellent workmanſhip, preſented by the city of London to the

garden; the earl of Chesterfield's house, near Hyde-park;

the young duke of Gloucester, son to queen Anne, to assist him in learning the art of war. 3. Four mortars in miniature, for throwing hand granadoes, invented by colonel Brown. They are fired with a lock like a common gun, but have not yet been introduced into practice. 4. Two fine brass cannon taken from the walls of Vigo in 1704, by the late lord Cobham. Their breeches represent lions couchant, with the effigy of St. Barbara, to whom they were dedicated. 5. A petard for bursting open the gates of a city or castle. 6. A large train of fine brass battering cannon, 24 pounders. 7. Some cannon of a new invention, from 6 to 24 pounders. Their superior excellence consists, first, in their lightness, the 24 pounders not weighing quite 1,700 weight, whereas formerly they weighed 5,000; the rest are in proportion; and secondly, in the contrivance for levelling them, which is by a screw, instead of beds and coins. This new method is more expeditious, and saves two men to a gun, and is said to be the contrivance of his royal highness the duke of Cumberland. 8. Brass mortars of 13 inches diameter, which throw a shell of 300 weight; with a number of smaller mortars, and shells in proportion. 9. A carcase, which they fill at sieges with pitch, tar, and other combustibles to set towns on fire. It is thrown out of an 18 inch mortar, and will burn two hours where it happens to fall. 10. A Spanish mortar of 12 inches diameter, taken on board a ship in the West Indies. 11. Six French pieces of cannon, 6 pounders, taken from the rebels at the battle of Culloden, April 16, 1745. 12. A beautiful piece of ordnance, made for king Charles I. when prince of Wales. It is finely ornamented with emblematical devices; among which is an eagle throwing a thunderbolt in the clouds. 13. A train of field-pieces, called the galloping train, carrying a ball of a pound and a half each. 14. A destroying engine, that throws 30 hand-granadoes at once, and is fired by a train. 15. A most curious brass cannon, made for prince Henry, the eldest son of king James I. the ornamenting of which is said to have cost 200 l. 16. A piece with seven bores, for throwing so many balls at once, and another with three, made as early as Henry VIII's time. 17. The drum-major's chariot of state, with kettle-drums placed. It is drawn by four white horses at the head of the train, when upon a march. 18. Two French field-pieces taken at the battle of Hochstadt in 1704. 19. An iron cannon of the first invention, being bars of iron hammered together, and hooped from top to bottom with iron hoops, to prevent its bursting. It has no carriage, but was to be moved from place to place by means of six rings, fixed to it at proper distances. 20. A very large mortar, weighing upward of 6,600 weight, and throwing a shell of 500 weight two miles. This

mortar

park; the duke of Devonſhire's, and the earl of Bath's,

mortar was fired ſo often at the ſiege of Namur by king William, that the very touch-hole is melted, for want of giving it time to cool. 21. A fine twiſted braſs cannon, 12 feet long, made in Edward VI's time, called queen Elizabeth's pocket-piſtol; which the warders, by way of joke, tell you ſhe uſed to wear on her right-ſide when ſhe rode a hunting. 22. Two braſs cannon, three bores each, carrying ſix pounders, taken by the duke of Marlborough at the glorious battle of Ramelies. 23. A mortar that throws nine ſhells at a time; out of which the baloons were caſt at the fire-works, for the laſt peace.

Beſide thoſe above enumerated, there were in the ſtove-room, before the preſent war, a vaſt number of new braſs cannon; together with ſponges, ladles, rammers, handſpikes, wadhooks, &c. with which the walls were lined round; and under the cieling there hang on poles upward of 4,000 harneſs for horſes, beſide men's harneſs, drag-ropes, &c. And beſide the trophies of ſtandards, colours, &c. taken from the enemy, it is now adorned with the tranſparent pictures brought hither from the fire-works played off at the concluſion of the peace in 1748.

The horſe-armoury is a plain brick-building, a little to the eaſtward of the White Tower; and is an edifice rather convenient than elegant, where the ſpectator is entertained with a repreſentation of thoſe kings and heroes of our own nation, with whoſe gallant actions it is to be ſuppoſed he is well acquainted; ſome of them equipped and ſitting on horſeback, in the ſame bright and ſhining armour they were uſed to wear when they performed thoſe glorious actions that give them a diſtinguiſhed place in the Britiſh annals. In aſcending the ſtair-caſe, juſt as you come to the landing-place, on caſting your eye into the room, you ſee the figure of a grenadier in his accoutrements, as if upon duty, with his piece reſted upon his arm; which is ſo well done, that at the firſt glance you will be apt to miſtake it for real life. When you enter the room, your conductor preſents to your notice, 1. The figures of the horſe and foot on your left-hand, ſuppoſed to be drawn up in military order, to attend the kings on the other ſide of the houſe. Theſe figures are as big as the life, and have been lately new painted. 2. A large tilting lance of Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk, king Henry VIII's general in France; a nobleman who excelled at the then faſhionable diverſion of tilting. 3. A compleat ſuit of tilting armour, ſuch as the kings, nobility, and gentlemen at arms uſed to wear; with the tilting lance, the reſt for the lance, and grand guard. 4. A compleat ſuit of armour, made for king Henry VIII. when he was but 18 years of age, rough from the hammer. It is at leaſt ſix feet high, and the joints in the hands, arms and thighs, knees and feet, play like the joints of a rattle-

Bath's, in Piccadilly; Northumberland-houſe, in the

a rattle-ſnake, and are moved with all the facility imaginable.

The method of learning the exerciſe of tilting, was upon wooden horſes ſet upon caſtors, which by the ſway of the body could be moved every way; ſo that by frequent practice, the rider could ſhift, parry, ſtrike, unhorſe, and recover with ſurpriſing dexterity. Some of the horſes in this armoury have been uſed for this purpoſe; and it is but lately that the caſtors have been taken from their feet. 5. A little ſuit of armour made for king Charles II. when prince of Wales, and about ſeven or eight years of age; with a piece of armour for his horſe's head; the whole moſt curiouſly wrought and inlaid with ſilver. 6. Lord Courcy's armour. This nobleman, as the warders tell you, was champion of Ireland, and as a proof, ſhew you the very ſword he took from the French champion; for which valiant action, he and all his ſucceſſors have the honour to wear their hats in the king's preſence; which privilege is ſtill enjoyed by the lord Kinſale, as head of that ancient and noble family. 7. Real coats of mail, called brigantine jackets. They conſiſt of ſmall bits of ſteel, ſo artfully quilted one over another, as to reſiſt the point of a ſword, and perhaps a muſket-ball, and yet are ſo flexible, that the wearer might bend his body as well as in his ordinary cloaths. 8. An Indian ſuit of armour, ſent by the great mogul as a preſent to king Charles II. This is very great curioſity; it is made of iron quills about two inches long, finely japanned and ranged in rows, one row ſlipping eaſily over another: theſe are bound very ſtrong together with ſilk twiſt, and are uſed in that country as a defence againſt darts and arrows. 9. A neat little ſuit of armour, worn by a carved figure, repreſenting Richard duke of York, the youngeſt ſon of king Edward IV. who, with his brother Edward V. were ſmothered in the Tower, by order of their uncle and guardian, Richard III. 10. The armour of John of Gaunt duke of Lancaſter, who was the ſon of a king, the father of a king, and the uncle of a king, but was never king himſelf: and Dugdale obſerves, that more kings and ſovereign princes ſprang from his loins, than from any king of Chriſtendom. The armour here ſhewn is ſeven feet high, and the ſword and lance of an enormous ſize. 11. The droll figure of Will Somers, who, as the warders tell you, was king Henry VIII's jeſter. They add, "he was an honeſt man of a woman's making —— he had a handſome woman to his wife, who made him a cuckold; and he wears his horns on his head, becauſe they ſhould not wear holes in his pockets.—— He would neither believe king, queen, nor any about the court, that he was a cuckold, till he put on his ſpectacles to ſee, being a little dim-ſighted, as all cuckolds ſhould be:" in which antic manner he is here repreſented. 12. What your conductors call a collar of torments, which, ſay they, "uſed formerly to be put

about

the Strand; the houſes of the duke's of Newcaſtle

about the womens necks that cuckolded their huſbands, or ſcolded at them when they came home late; but that cuſtom is left off now-a-days, to prevent quarrelling for collars, there not being ſmiths enough to make them, as moſt married men are ſure to want at one time or other."

You now come to the line of kings, which your conductor begins by reverſing the order of chronology; ſo that in following them we muſt place the laſt firſt. 1. His late majeſty king George I. in a compleat ſuit of armour, ſitting with a truncheon in his hand, on a white horſe richly capariſoned, having a fine Turky bridle gilt, with a globe, creſcent and ſtar; velvet furniture laced with gold, and gold trappings. 2. King William III. dreſſed in the ſuit of armour worn by Edward the Black Prince, ſon to Edward III. at the glorious battle of Creſſey. He is mounted on a ſorrel horſe, whoſe furniture is green velvet embroidered with ſilver, and holds in his right-hand a flaming ſword. 3. King Charles II. dreſſed in the armour worn by the champion of England, at the coronation of his preſent majeſty. He ſits with a truncheon in his hand, on a fine horſe richly capariſoned, with crimſon velvet laced with gold. 4. King Charles I. in a rich ſuit of his own armour gilt, and curiouſly wrought, preſented to him by the city of London when he was prince of Wales, and is the ſame that was laid on the coffin at the funeral proceſſion of the late great duke of Marlborough, on which occaſion a collar of SS was added to it, and is now round it. 5. James I. who ſits on horſeback, in a compleat ſuit of figured armour, with a truncheon in his right-hand. 6. King Edward VI. dreſſed in a curious ſuit of ſteel armour, whereon are depicted, in different compartments, a great variety of ſcripture hiſtories. He ſits like the reſt on horſeback, with a truncheon in his hand. 7. King Henry VIII. in his own armour, which is of poliſhed ſteel, with the foliages gilt or inlaid with gold. He holds a ſword in his right-hand. 8. King Henry VII. who alſo holds a ſword. He ſits on horſeback in a compleat ſuit of armour, finely wrought, and waſhed with ſilver. 9. King Edward V. who with his brother Richard was ſmothered in the Tower, and having been proclaimed king, but never crowned, a crown is hung over his head. He holds a lance in his right-hand, and is dreſſed in a rich ſuit of armour. 10. King Edward IV. father to the two unhappy princes above-mentioned, is diſtinguiſhed by a ſuit of bright armour ſtudded. He holds a drawn ſword in his hand. 11. King Henry VI. who, though crowned king of France at Paris, loſt that kingdom, and was at laſt murdered in the Tower by the duke of Glouceſter, afterward Richard III. 12. The victorious Henry V. who by his conqueſts in France cauſed himſelf to be acknowledged regent,

and

caſtle and Queenſberry; of lord Bateman; of general Wade,

and preſumptive heir to that kingdom. 13. Henry IV. the ſon of John of Gaunt. 14. King Edward III. John of Gaunt's father, and father to Edward the Black Prince, is repreſented here with a venerable beard, and in a ſuit of plain bright armour, with two crowns on his ſword, alluding to his being crowned king both of England and France. 15. King Edward I. dreſſed in a very curious ſuit of gilt armour, and in ſhoes of mail. He has a battle-axe in his hand. 16. William the Conqueror, the firſt in the line, though laſt ſhewn, ſits in a ſuit of plain armour. 17. Over the door where you go out of the armoury is a target, on which are engraved, by a maſterly hand, the figures, as it ſhould ſeem, of Juſtice, Fortune, and Fortitude; and round the room, the walls are every where lined with various uncommon pieces of old armour, for horſes heads and breaſts, targets, and many pieces that now want a name.

In a dark, ſtrong, ſtone room, about 20 yards to the eaſtward of the grand ſtore-houſe or new armoury, the crown jewels are depoſited. I. The imperial crown, with which it is pretended that all the Kings of England have been crowned ſince Edward the Confeſſor, in 1042. It is of gold, enriched with diamonds, rubies, emeralds, ſaphires and pearls: the cap within is of purple velvet, lined with white taffety, turned up with three rows of ermine. They are however miſtaken in ſhewing this as the ancient imperial diadem of St. Edward; for that, with the other moſt ancient regalia of this kingdom, was kept in the arched room in the cloiſters in Weſtminſter Abbey till the grand rebellion; when in 1642, Harry Martin, by order of the parliament, broke open the iron cheſt in which it was ſecured, took it thence, and ſold it, together with the robes, ſword, and ſcepter of St. Edward. However, after the reſtoration, king Charles II. had one made in imitation of it, which is that now ſhewn. II. The golden orb or globe, put into the king's right-hand before he is crowned; and borne in his left with the ſcepter in his right, upon his return into Weſtminſter Hall, after he is crowned. It is about ſix inches in diameter, edged with pearl, and enriched with precious ſtones. On the top is an amethyſt, of a violet colour, near an inch and a half in height, ſet with a rich croſs of gold, adorned with diamonds, pearls, and precious ſtones. The whole height of the ball and cup is 11 inches. III. The golden ſcepter, with its croſs ſet upon a large amethyſt of great value, garniſhed round with table diamonds. The handle of the ſcepter is plain; but the pummel is ſet round with rubies, emeralds, and ſmall diamonds. The top riſes into a *fleur de lis* of ſix leaves, all enriched with precious ſtones, from whence iſſues a mound or ball, made of the amethyſt already mentioned. The croſs is quite covered with precious ſtones. IV. The ſcep-

ter

Wade, in Saville-row; the earl of Granville's, Mr. Pelham's,

ter with the dove, the emblem of peace, perched on the top of a ſmall Jeruſalem croſs, finely ornamented with table diamonds and jewels of great value. This emblem was firſt uſed by Edward the Confeſſor, as appears by his ſeal; but the ancient ſcepter and dove was ſold with the reſt of the regalia, and this now in the Tower was made after the reſtoration. V. St. Edward's ſtaff, four feet ſeven inches and a half in length, and three inches three quarters in circumference, all of beaten gold, which is carried before the king at his coronation. VI. The rich crown of ſtate, worn by his majeſty in parliament; in which is a large emerald ſeven inches round; a pearl eſteemed the fineſt in the world, and a ruby of ineſtimable value. VII. The crown belonging to his royal highneſs the prince of Wales. The king wears his crown on his head while he ſits upon the throne; but that of the prince of Wales is placed before him, to ſhew that he is not yet come to it. VIII. The late queen Mary's crown, globe and ſcepter, with the diadem ſhe wore at her coronation with her conſort king William III. IX. An ivory ſcepter, with a dove on the top, made for king James II's queen, whoſe garniture is gold, and the dove on the top gold, enamelled with white. X. The *curtana*, or ſword of mercy, which has a blade 32 inches long, and near two broad, is without a point, and is borne naked before the king at his coronation, between the two ſwords of juſtice, ſpiritual and temporal. XI. The golden ſpurs, and the armillas, which are bracelets for the wriſts. Theſe, though very antique, are worn at the coronation. XII. The *ampulla*, or eagle of gold, finely engraved, which holds the holy oil the kings and queens of England are anointed with; and the golden ſpoon that the biſhop pours the oil into. Theſe are two pieces of great antiquity. The golden eagle, including the pedeſtal, is about nine inches high, and the wings expand about ſeven inches. The whole weighs about 10 ounces. The head of the eagle ſcrews off about the middle of the neck, which is made hollow, for holding the holy oil; and when the king is anointed by the biſhop, the oil is poured into the ſpoon out of the bird's bill. XIII. A rich ſalt-ſeller of ſtate, in form like the ſquare White Tower, and ſo exquiſitely wrought, that the workmanſhip of modern times is in no degree equal to it. It is of gold, and uſed only on the king's table at the coronation. XIV. A noble ſilver font, double gilt, and elegantly wrought, in which the royal family are chriſtened. XV. A large ſilver fountain, preſented to king Charles II. by the town of Plymouth, very curiouſly wrought; but much inferior in beauty to the above. Beſide theſe, which are commonly ſhewn, there are in the jewel office, all the crown jewels worn by the prince and princeſſes at coronations, and a great variety of curious old plate.

The

ham's, the duke of Bedford's, and Montague-houſe *, in Bloomſbury; with a great number of others of the

The Record Office conſiſts of three rooms, one above another, and a large round room, where the rolls are kept. Theſe are all handſomely wainſcoted, the wainſcot being framed into preſſes round each room, within which are ſhelves, and repoſitories for the records; and for the eaſier finding of them, the year of each reign is inſcribed on the inſide of theſe preſſes, and the records placed accordingly. Within theſe preſſes, which amount to 56 in number, are depoſited all the rolls, from the firſt year of the reign of king John, to the beginning of the reign of Richard III. but thoſe after this laſt period are kept in the rolls chapel. The records in the Tower, among other things, contain, the foundation of abbies, and other religious houſes; the ancient tenures of all the lands in England, with a ſurvey of the manors; the original of laws and ſtatutes; proceedings of the courts of common law and equity; the rights of England to the dominion of the Britiſh ſeas; leagues and treaties with foreign princes; the atchievements of England in foreign wars; the ſettlement of Ireland, as to law and dominion; the forms of ſubmiſſion of ſome Scottiſh kings; ancient grants of our kings to their ſubjects; privileges and immunities granted to cities and corporations during the period above-mentioned; enrollments of charters and deeds made before the conqueſt; the bounds of all the foreſts in England, with the ſeveral reſpective rights of the inhabitants to common of paſture, and many other important records, all regularly diſpoſed, and referred to in near a thouſand folio indexes. This office is kept open, and attendance conſtantly given, from ſeven o'clock till one, except in the months of December, January and February, when it is open only from eight to one, Sundays and holidays excepted. A ſearch here is half a guinea, for which you may peruſe any one ſubject a year.

* The Britiſh Muſeum is depoſited in Montague-houſe. Sir Hans Sloane, bart. (who died in 1753) may not improperly be accounted the founder of the Britiſh Muſeum: for its being eſtabliſhed by parliament, was only in conſequence of his leaving by will his noble collection of natural hiſtory, his large library, and his numerous curioſities, which coſt him 50,000 l. to the uſe of the public on condition that the parliament would pay 20,000 l. to his executors. To this collection were added the Cottonian library, the Harleian manuſcripts, and a collection of books given by the late major Edwards. His late majeſty, in conſideration of its great uſefulneſs, was graciouſly pleaſed to add thereto, the royal libraries of books and manuſcripts collected by the ſeveral kings of England.

The Sloanian collection conſiſts of an amazing number of curioſities; among which are, the library, including books of

the nobility and gentry; but these would be sufficient to fill a large volume.

London is the center of trade, it has an intimate connection with all the countries in the kingdom; it is the grand mart of the nation, to which every part send their commodities, from whence they again are sent back into every town in the nation, and to every part in the world. From hence innumerable carriages, by land and water, are constantly employed, and from hence arises that circulation in the national body, which renders every part healthful, vigorous, and in a prosperous condition; a circulation that is equally beneficial to the head, and the most distant members. Merchants are here as rich as noblemen; and there is no place in the world in which the shops of tradesmen make such a noble and elegant appearance.

No expence has been spared to give this city all the essential advantages that could be procured by art and industry. And in particular, no place in the world is better supplied with water from the Thames and the New River; which is not only of inconceivable service to every family, but, by means of fire-plugs every where dispersed, the keys of which are

drawings, manuscripts and prints, amounting to about 50,000 volumes. Medals and coins, ancient and modern, 23,000. Cameos and intaglios, about 700. Seals, 268. Vessels, &c. of agate, jasper, &c. 542. Antiquities, 1,125. Precious stones, agates, jaspers, &c. 2,256. Metals, minerals, ores, &c. 2,725. Crystals, spars, &c. 1,864. Fossils, flints, stones, 1,275. Earths, sands, salts, 1,035. Bitumens, sulphurs, ambers, &c. 399. Talcs, micæ, &c. 388. Corals, spunges, &c. 1,421. Testacea, or shells, &c. 5,843. Echini, echinitæ, &c. 659. Asteriæ, trochi, entrochi, &c. 241. Crustaceæ, crabs, lobsters, &c. 363. Stellæ marinæ, star-fishes, &c. 173. Fish and their parts, &c. 1,555. Birds and their parts, eggs and nests, of different species, 1,172. Quadrupeds, &c. 1,886. Vipers, serpents, &c. 521. Insects, &c. 5,439. Vegetables, 12,506. Hortus siccus, or volumes of dried plants, 334. Humana, as calculi, anatomical preparations, 756. Miscellaneous things, natural, 2,098. Mathematical instruments, 55. A catalogue of all the above is written in 38 volumes in folio, and 8 in quarto.

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St Abbs Head
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N. Berwick
Bass I.
Kennoway
Cupper
Anstruther
Dundee
Montrose
Aberbrothie
Red Head
Stonehive
Dunoter Cast.
Bervie
Fordon
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Ilhan R.
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Buchan Ness
Peter Head
Kynairds Head
Frazerburg
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Dovern R.
Cromartie T. & S.
Tarbat Ness
Dornoch Frith
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Dornoch Frith
Dornoch
Dunrobin
Ord Head
Navern L.
Stin L.
Strathy L.

depoſited with the pariſhes officers, the city is, in a great meaſure, ſecured from the ſpreading of fire; for theſe plugs are no ſooner opened than there is vaſt quantities of water to ſupply the engines.

This plenty of water has been attended with another advantage, it has given riſe to ſeveral companies, who inſure houſes and goods, from fire; an advantage, that is not to be met with in any other nation on earth: the premium is ſmall, and the recovery, in caſe of loſs, is eaſy and certain. Every one of theſe offices, keep a ſet of men in pay, who are ready at all hours to give their aſſiſtance in caſe of fire; and who are on all occaſions extreamly bold, dexterous, and diligent; but though all their labours ſhould prove unſucceſsful, the perſon who ſuffers by this devouring element, has the comfort that muſt ariſe from a certainty of being paid the value of what he has inſured.

OF NORTH BRITAIN, OR SCOTLAND, WITH ITS ISLANDS.

THE kingdom of Scotland, or North Britain, comprehends all the northern part of this iſland beyond the counties of Cumberland and Northumberland, together with a multitude of iſlands, which amount to about 300; ſome of them are very inconſiderable. This country is bounded on all ſides by the ocean, except on the ſouth, where it is ſeparated from England, beginning at the eaſt, by the river Tweed,

Cheviot-hills, the river Erſk, and Solway Frith. Near Carliſle it is generally reckoned to extend 300 miles in length, from Aldermouth head, near the iſle of Mull, to Buchaneſs, and 150 in breadth, where broadeſt. The coaſt is much indented, and the land in ſeveral places nearly cut through by bays, gulphs, and rivers, the firſt of which form excellent harbours, and the latter abound with freſh water fiſh.

North Britain, excluſive of its iſlands, lies between the fifty-fourth degree forty minutes, and the fifty-eight degree thirty minutes north latitude, and between the firſt degree thirty minutes, and the ſixth degree weſt longitude. The longeſt day is upwards of eighteen hours, and the ſhorteſt five hours forty-five minutes: but the brightneſs of the northern lights in a great meaſure remedy the inconvenience of the ſhort days of winter.

The air is very temperate, and not half ſo cold as might be imagined from its being ſeated ſo far to the north. This, as in England, is owing to the warm vapours and moderate breezes that continually come from the ſea; which alſo ſerve to purify the air, and put it in ſuch a conſtant agitation, as preſerves the inhabitants from any remarkable epidemic diſeaſes.

Great part of the country, particularly toward the north and weſt, is mountainous, and covered with heath; this is called the Highlands, but theſe in ſeveral places yield good paſture: between the higher grounds are many rich valleys, which produce corn and cattle. The ſouth parts of Scotland are far preferable to the north parts of England, and there are every where all things neceſſary for human life; and not only ſufficient for the inhabitants, but alſo to export. They do not want wheat, but the grain moſtly cultivated is oats, as it will grow in the mountainous parts. The productions in Scotland are in general much the ſame as in England. In the Lowlands there is little timber, but in the more northern parts there are foreſts of fir-trees, that might afford maſts

maſts for the largeſt men of war; but it is difficult to bring them to the ſea-ſide. There are alſo many large woods of oaks, aſh, and elms, fit for building, and abundance of fruit-trees in their gardens and orchards. The ſoil likewiſe in many places produces great plenty of hemp and flax.

Beſide the freſh-water fiſh found in the lakes and rivers, ſeveral of the iſlands are frequented by whales; and cod, ling, haddock, ſturgeon, turbot, mackrel, ſcate, ſea-urchins, cat-fiſh, &c. are caught in great plenty on all their coaſts. Lobſters, crabs, and oyſters, are found in vaſt quantities on the Weſtern Iſlands; and cockles, muſſels, limpets, wilks, ſcallops, and ſpouts, are caſt by the tide in ſuch numbers on the iſles, that the people cannot conſume them.

In this country ſprings of clear and wholeſome water are every where in plenty, not only on the ſides, but on the tops of many of the mountains. Theſe in their deſcent ſwell into pleaſant rills, and augmenting their ſtreams become rivers. Many of theſe meeting with hollow places in their paſſage, expand themſelves into lakes, till finding a proper channel they reſume their form of rivers, and, as the nature of the ſoil directs, ſometimes expand themſelves again and again, or continue their progreſs in the ſame form to the ſea.

The moſt remarkable lochs or lakes in Scotland are Lochtay, Lochneſs, and Lochlevin, which ſend forth rivers of the ſame name with themſelves; Lochlomond, which ſends forth the river Lomond; and Lochiern, from which flows the river Iern. There is a lake in Straitherrach, which never freezes, however ſevere the froſt, till February, and then in one night it freezes all over, and if it continues two nights, the ice grows very thick. Another lake at a place called Glencanich, is ſeated on a high ground between the tops of two mountains, and it is remarkable that the middle of this lake is always frozen

throughout the ſummer, notwithſtanding the ſtrong reflection of the ſun-beams from the mountains, which melts the ice at the ſides of the lake. Round the lake the ground has a conſtant verdure, as if it enjoyed a perpetual ſpring; and by feeding on that graſs, cattle grow ſooner fat than any where elſe.

In Linlithgowſhire is a lake called Lochoat, from whence a ſtream runs under a neighbouring mountain, and after it has purſued its courſe about two hundred paces, iſſues with great force from a ſpring about three feet broad, when it forms a ſtream that turns a mill.

The capital rivers, particularly the Forth, Clyde, Tay, and Neſs, &c. divide the country into peninſulas; theſe running ſo far within land as to be intercepted only by a ſmall iſthmus, or neck of land.

The kingdom of Scotland, notwithſtanding the union of the crowns on the acceſſion of their king James VI. to that of England, continued an entirely ſeparate and diſtinct kingdom for above a century, though an union had been long projected: this was judged to be the more eaſy to be done, as both kingdoms were antiently under the ſame government, and ſtill retained a very great reſemblance, though far from an identity, in their laws. By an act of parliament 1 Jac. I. c. 1. it is declared, that theſe two, mighty, famous, and antient kingdoms were formerly one. And Sir Edward Coke obſerves, how marvellous a conformity there was, not only in the religion and language of the two nations, but alſo in their antient laws, the deſcent of the crown, their parliaments, their titles of nobility, their officers of ſtate and of juſtice, their writs, their cuſtoms, and even the language of their laws. Upon which account he ſuppoſes the common law of each to have been originally the ſame, eſpecially as their moſt antient and authentic book, called *Regiam Majeſtatem*, and containing the rules of their antient common law, is extreamly ſimilar to that of Glanvil, which contains

the

the principles of ours, as it ſtood in the reign of Henry II. The many diverſities, ſubſiſting between the two laws at preſent, may be well enough accounted for, from a diverſity of practice in two large and uncommunicating juriſdictions, and from the acts of two diſtinct and independent parliaments, which have in many points altered and abrogated the old common law of both kingdoms.

However, Sir Edward Coke, and the politicians of that time, conceived great difficulties in carrying on the projected union: but theſe were at length overcome, and the great work was happily effected in 1707, in the fifth of queen Anne; when twenty-five articles of union were agreed to by the parliaments of both nations: the purport of the moſt conſiderable being as follows:

1. That on the firſt of May 1707, and for ever after, the kingdoms of England and Scotland ſhall be united into one kingdom, by the name of Great Britain.

2. The ſucceſſion to the monarchy of Great Britain ſhall be the ſame as was before ſettled with regard to that of England.

3. The united kingdom ſhall be repreſented by one parliament.

4. There ſhall be a communication of all rights and privileges between the ſubjects of both kingdoms, except where it is otherwiſe agreed.

9. When England raiſes 2,000,000 l. by a land tax, Scotland ſhall raiſe 48,000 l.

16, 17. The ſtandards of the coin, of weights, and of meaſures, ſhall be reduced to thoſe of England, throughout the united kingdoms.

18. The laws relating to trade, cuſtoms, and the exciſe, ſhall be the ſame in Scotland as in England. But all the other laws of Scotland ſhall remain in force; but alterable by the parliament of Great Britain. Yet with this caution: that laws relating to public policy are alterable at the diſcretion of the

parliament; laws relating to private right are not to be altered but for the evident utility of the people of Scotland.

22. Sixteen peers are to be chosen to represent the peerage of Scotland in parliament, and forty-five members to sit in the house of commons.

23. The sixteen peers of Scotland shall have all privileges of parliament: and all peers of Scotland shall be peers of Great Britain, and rank next after those of the same degree at the time of the union, and shall have all privileges of peers, except sitting in the house of lords and voting on the trial of a peer.

These are the principal of the twenty-five articles of union, which are ratified and confirmed by statute 5 Ann. c. 8. in which statute there are also two acts of parliament recited; the one of Scotland, whereby the church of Scotland, and also the four universities of that kingdom, are established for ever, and all succeeding sovereigns are to take an oath inviolably to maintain the same; the other of England, 5 Ann. c. 6. whereby the acts of uniformity of 13 Eliz. and 13 Car. II. (except as the same had been altered by parliament at that time) and all other acts then in force for the preservation of the church of England, are declared perpetual; and it is stipulated, that every subsequent king and queen shall take an oath inviolably to maintain the same within England, Ireland, Wales, and the town of Berwick upon Tweed. And it is enacted, that these two acts "shall for ever be "observed as fundamental and essential conditions of "the union."

Upon these articles, and act of union, it is to be observed, 1. That the two kingdoms are now so inseparably united, that nothing can ever disunite them again; unless perhaps an infringement of those points which, when they were separate and independent nations, it was mutually stipulated should be "fundamental and essential conditions of the union." 2. That whatever else may be deemed "fundamental

"and

" and eſſential conditions," the preſervation of the two churches, of England and Scotland, in the ſame ſtate that they were in at the time of the union, and the maintenance of the acts of uniformity which eſtabliſh our common prayer, are expreſsly declared ſo to be. 3. That therefore any alteration in the conſtitutions of either of thoſe churches, or in the liturgy of the church of England, would be an infringement of theſe " fundamental and eſſential con-" ditions," and greatly endanger the union. 4. That the municipal laws of Scotland are ordained to be ſtill obſerved in that part of the iſland, unleſs altered by parliament; and, as the parliament has not yet thought proper, except in a few inſtances, to alter them, they ſtill (with regard to the particulars unaltered) continue in full force. Wherefore the municipal or common laws of England are, generally ſpeaking, of no force or validity in Scotland.

The courts of civil judicature in Scotland are,

The college of juſtice, commonly called the ſeſſion, which conſiſts of a preſident, and fourteen fixed ſenators or judges, called ordinary lords of ſeſſion, with two extraordinary lords. Under theſe are ſeven clerks of ſeſſion, and ſix inferior officers. Before this court are tried at ſtated times, all civil cauſes, which they determine by acts of parliament, and the cuſtom of the nation; and where theſe are defective, they decide according to the civil law, and the rules of equity. There lies no appeal from this court but to the parliament; and the preſence of nine judges is required to make their decrees valid.

The juſticiary, uſually called the juſtice or criminal court, conſiſts of five lords of the ſeſſion, the juſtice-general, and juſtice-clerk. Theſe are joined by a pannel of fifteen out of forty-five, cited like juries in England, by whom all cauſes of a criminal nature are tried. They hold aſſizes all over the kingdom twice every year, and from thence are called lords of the circuit.

The

The court of exchequer, which is like that of England, and conſiſts of a chief and four other barons, &c.

The court of chancery. The officers of ſtate are, the keeper of the ſeal, and lord privy-ſeal, the lord clerk-regiſter, and the lord advocate.

Beſide the above national judges, every county or ſhire has a chief magiſtrate or his deputy, who is ordinary judge in all civil and criminal cauſes; but, in moſt caſes, an appeal lies from this magiſtrate to the ſeſſion and court of juſticiary. The ſheriff is in effect the ſupream juſtice of peace, to whom the law principally intruſts the ſecuring the quiet and tranquillity of that part of the kingdom of which he is ſheriff. Bailiffs, ſtewards, and conſtables, in their reſpective diſtricts, have the ſame liberty as ſheriffs in their ſhires.

The court of admiralty is a ſupream court, in which all maritime cauſes, crimes, treſpaſſes, quarrels, &c. may be tried before the lord high admiral's judge, for he himſelf never judges; he forms his deciſions on the civil law, and the cuſtoms of Scotland.

There are alſo in Scotland what are called commiſſary courts, which are a kind of eccleſiaſtical courts, in which cauſes are tried by commiſſaries. The principal of theſe is at Edinburgh. The four commiſſaries of that metropolis particularly try cauſes of matrimony and adultery, in order to a plenary divorce, ſo that the innocent perſon may marry, as if the offending party were naturally dead.

The Scots nation in general is of the reformed religion, except a ſmall part ſtill adhering to the church of Rome. The government of their church is denominated preſbyterian, becauſe they allow of no higher office than a preaching preſbyter, who with the elders of the people perform the whole government. The Scots writers declare this to be their primitive form, when the nation firſt turned chriſtian in the ſecond century, and was never altered by the popiſh

popiſh prelates till the fourteenth century: and that the church of Scotland was reformed from popery by preſbyters, without ſettling any prelacy inſtead thereof, is evident from the acts of parliament and general aſſemblies. The eccleſiaſtical courts are the four following.

1. The general aſſembly, which meets at Edinburg annually in May, and conſiſts of miniſters and elders deputed from every preſbytery in the nation. Theſe determine all appeals from inferior church judicatures, and make laws and regulations for the government of the kirk. A lord commiſſioner, who is always a nobleman of the firſt quality, preſides here as a repreſentative of the king's perſon. The power of this court is very great, and from it there is no appeal.

2. The provincial ſynod, which is compoſed of the members of ſeveral adjacent preſbyteries, meeting twice a year, at a principal place within the bounds, and like the general aſſembly is opened by a ſermon. Their buſineſs is to receive correſpondents from the neighbouring ſynods, who are a check upon one another; to determine appeals from the preſbyteries within their diſtrict; and to enquire into and cenſure the behaviour of the preſbyteries themſelves. They have likewiſe power to remove a miniſter from one place to another: but appeals lie from the ſynod to the general aſſembly.

3. The preſbytery, which conſiſts of a miniſter and one elder from five to ten or more neighbouring pariſhes, who, being aſſembled, chuſe one of the miniſters to be præſes, or moderator. Here are tried appeals from the kirk-ſeſſion; and here they inſpect into the behaviour of the miniſters and elders within their reſpective bounds. They ſupply vacant pariſhes, ordain paſtors, examine and licenſe ſchool-maſters and young ſtudents for probationary preachers.

4. The kirk ſeſſion conſiſts of the miniſter and elders in each pariſh, who conſider the affairs of the pariſh

as

as a religious ſociety. They judge in all leſſer matters eſteemed ſcandalous, can ſuſpend from the communion, and regulate every thing relating to public worſhip and the poor.

The number of kirks or churches in Scotland amounts to about nine hundred and fifty, beſide a few chapels, which make up ſixty-eight preſbyteries, included in thirteen provincial ſynods.

There are here however ſeveral ſects of diſſenters from the eſtabliſhed worſhip, the principal of which are the epiſcopalians, who uſe the form of prayer of the church of England: but the nonjurers among theſe are not permitted to have public meeting-houſes, but are only ſuffered to preach and read the divine ſervice to very ſmall congregations; while thoſe who take the oaths, and pray for his majeſty in expreſs terms, have meeting-houſes. There are alſo the Erſkinites and Gibbonites, ſo called from the miniſters of thoſe names, who have broke off from the church of Scotland, and upon that account they are alſo called ſeceders. There are likewiſe mountaineers, thus named from their preaching in the open fields, and on the mountains; theſe are alſo called covenanters.

The law of Scotland has provided againſt pluralities, and throughout the whole country there are no benefices worth leſs than fifty pounds ſterling per annum; which in that county is a good maintenance; nor any that exceed a hundred and fifty pounds a year.

The members of this eccleſiaſtical republic (who are all upon an equality in point of dignity and power) are eſteemed to be very ſincere in their principles, indefatigable in their miniſterial labours, and are greatly reſpected by their pariſhioners. Beſide diſcharging their ſpiritual duties, theſe gentlemen frequently act in the capacity of arbitrators in matters of diſpute between man and man; their healing advice is generally attended with ſucceſs, and both parties

parties return to their families fully reconciled to each other. Where ſuch paſtors preſide there are few inſtances of irregularity among the lower claſſes of the people: adultery, ſwearing, and fighting, are ſo very uncommon, that the perſons guilty of ſuch practices are conſidered as the moſt incorrigible miſcreants, deſpiſed and ſhunned by the whole neighbourhood.

The union with England was ſtrongly oppoſed by the people of Scotland in general, and occaſioned ſuch tumults, that the nation was threatned with a civil war. One of the nobles declared in parliament, that his degenerate countrymen were about to give up in half an hour what their warlike predeceſſors had ſo bravely defended, and ſo hardly earned during a conteſt of many centuries. But the chief grounds of oppoſition proceeded from a conſideration of the heavy taxes that muſt be levied upon them to pay the intereſt of debts they never had contracted. Before this time, taxes were almoſt unknown in that kingdom, proviſions were cheap, and by means of their fiſheries, mines, and manufactures, they carried on a beneficial trade with Holland and France: but in conſequence of the union they were to renounce this trade, and drink port at 2 s. per bottle, in preference to claret at 10 d. becauſe the Engliſh carried on a lucrative trade with Portugal. By this treaty the parliament of Scotland, which was annually held at Edinburgh, was to be diſſolved, and a limited number of their nobility, together with 45 commoners, were to repreſent Scotland in the Britiſh parliament. It was eaſy to foreſee that ſo many of their nobility and gentry reſiding at London would ſpend one third of the rents of the kingdom in that metropolis.

Such were the objections made by the people of Scotland againſt this famous treaty, but upon the other hand, the advantages reſulting therefrom, though at firſt they ſeemed remote and precarious, are many and ſubſtantial. An increaſe of trade has, in the courſe of 60 years, given a new face to the whole

whole kingdom, but more particularly in the weſtern parts, where the inhabitants ſoon availed themſelves of a free commerce with America. Inſtead of dark Gothick caſtles inhabited by a nobility more diſtinguiſhed for their valour than by wealth, and under whoſe protection exiſted a poor, oppreſſed commonalty, we now behold an incredible number of villas, ſurrounded with incloſures, and laid out in a manner that does honour to the taſte of a trading people. Inſtead of a few inconſiderable boroughs, remarkable only for the antiquity of their charters, or ſome ruinous abbey, we meet large and populous towns, well known in the mercantile world for the variety and beauty of their manufactures.

Scotland produces moſt of the neceſſaries of life, and ſupplies other nations with black cattle, ſheep, pork, ſalmon, herrings, and other kinds of fiſh, corn, barley, ſalt, tallow, hides, butter, eggs, lead, coals, and freeſtone; it likewiſe exports linen cloth, hollands, cambrics, gauzes, ſilk and worſted ſtockings, printed cloths, carpets, books, hats, plaid, and coarſe woollen cloth, &c. Theſe and many other commodities are chiefly manufactured at Glaſgow, a large and beautiful city, ſituated upon the river Clyde; in point of commerce the firſt in Scotland. This city likewiſe carries on a very extenſive foreign trade, particularly to America, by means of which, and her own natural productions, Scotland is enabled to remit incredible ſums to England, where the fruits of her induſtry chiefly centers; ſo that in reality the people of South Britain owe a conſiderable part of their riches to the very people whoſe poverty they are ſo apt to deſpiſe. The difficulty of procuring bills upon London, and the high premiums they bear, are convincing proofs that the balance of trade is greatly in favour of England. It may not be improper in this place to obſerve alſo, how groſsly this country has been miſrepreſented by late writers, ſome wilfully, and others through ignorance,

rance, by literally copying from Camden and other old authors, without making proper allowances for the changes and improvements which have taken place, from a gradual increaſe of trade, and an uncommon attention to agriculture during a period of near two centuries. Theſe compilers of geographical ſyſtems would do well to convince us of their extenſive knowlege of foreign countries, by giving a more juſt account of our own. The beſt modern deſcription of this iſland ſeems to be that written by Mr. S. Richardſon, intitled, *A Tour through Great Britain.*

The Scots are in general well ſhaped, ſtrongly made, hardy and robuſt. They live well, though not groſly, and are wholly unacquainted with ſome diſeaſes, as well as ſome vices too common in many other countries. They are, for the moſt part, an active, induſtrious, and religious people; and having a great ſhare of natural good ſenſe and ſagacity, they generally ſucceed in their undertakings. The women of inferior rank, and ſome in higher life, are ſo remarkable for their induſtry, that their whole families are generally clothed with their own manufacture. The fidelity of this people is ſuch, that the kings of France, for near 300 years, committed the immediate care of their royal perſons to a regiment of Scottiſh guards. And in 1746, the young pretender wandered ſeveral months from place to place, during which time there was not one attempt made toward a diſcovery, though he was known to many perſons, and a reward of 30000 l. offered for his head. The Scotch, however, are not without their faults, and the inferior gentlemen among them have often a greater ſhare of pride than the firſt Engliſh peers; this, however, wears off ſoon after they have croſſed the Tweed, or have viſited other countries. Many of them likewiſe too much affect to imitate their more wealthy neighbours in luxury, and in the other prevailing vices of the times.

Scotland has produced many perſons eminent for genius and learning, but no period was ever ſo diſ-

tinguiſhed as the preſent, which, if we may uſe the expreſſion, may be conſidered as the golden age of literature in that kingdom.

The Scots muſic is univerſally admired; love is generally the ſubject, and many of the airs have been brought upon the Engliſh ſtage, under new names, but with this diſadvantage, that they are moſtly altered for the worſe; being ſtrip'd of that original ſimplicity which is their eſſential characteriſtic, which is ſo agreeable to the ear, and has ſuch powers over the human breaſt.

With regard to the original inhabitants of Scotland, we have no certain accounts; it is probable that they came in colonies from the neighbouring continent. The Picts ſeem to be no other than ſuch of the braveſt Britons as would not ſubmit to the Roman yoke, and were driven northward by theſe invaders. The hiſtory of Scotland, ſays Dr. Robertſon, may be properly divided into four periods. The firſt reaches from the origin of that monarchy to the reign of Kenneth II. who ſubdued the Picts in the year 838, and united under one monarchy all that country now called Scotland. The ſecond, from Kenneth's conqueſt of the Picts to the death of Alexander III. when the competitors for the crown put themſelves under the arbitration of Edward I. of England. The third extends to the death of James V. The laſt, from thence to the acceſſion of James VI. to the crown of England. It has been much regretted, that this celebrated writer confined his hiſtory to this laſt period, containing only two reigns. It is obſervable, that Innes, and other Scottiſh writers ſince his time, have affected to doubt the very exiſtence of no leſs than forty of their firſt kings. But it is not very probable that 30000 Caledonians, who oppoſed Agricola, could be brought together in theſe barbarous ages without a leader inveſted with ſovereign authority; and that theſe people ſhould, during ſeveral centuries, ſuſtain the hoſtile attacks of united armies, and at laſt oblige the Romans to bound their empire

IRELAND
From the best
Authorities.
Longit. W. from London.
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ATLANTIC OCEAN
IRISH SEA
St. GEORGE'S CHANNEL
Lough Swilly
Tory I.
North Cape
Inishowen Head
Giants Causway
Rathlin I.
Fair Hd
Ailsa
Green Cas.
B. Castle
Lough Foyle
Coleraine
Maidens
SCOTLAND
Port Patrick
North Pt. of Arran
DONEGAL
LONDON
Londonderry
ANTRIM
Templecroan
Raphoe
Lifford
DERRY
Carrickfergus
Randal
Bridgegrub Bay
ULSTER
Antrim
Cape Telling
Killybog
Donegal
TYRONE
Belfast
Newton
Mull of Galloway
Donnagal Bay
Ballishannon
Harmon
Omagh
Montjoy
Dungannon
Hilsboro
Cloghar
Dromore
Strangford
Slegoe Bay
Enniskilling
Armagh
DOWN
Monaghan
ARMAGH
Downpatrick
ISLE of MAN
I. Glora
The Mullet
Kilalla
Colony
SLIGO
Belturbet
C. Blaney
Carlingford
MAYO
Achonry
Leitrim
Kilmore
Peterboro
Carrickdrumrusk
CAVAN
Loughcon
Lough
Ballycastle
Ath. Sdees
LOUTH
Calf of Man
Black Rocks
Achill Hd
Clew Bay
Castlebar
Tulsk
Elphin
Longford
Fore
Kells
Drogheda
Croagh Patrick
L. Mask
ROSCOMMON
Roscommon
LONGFORD
Navan
Boyne R.
W. MEATH
Athboy
E. MEATH
Bophin
Ballinrobe
Tuam
Mullingar
Trim
Dogs Hd
CONNAUGHT
LEINSTER
Athlone
Killbegan
Baleth
Holy Head
Slime Hd
GALWAY
Philipstown
KILDARE
DUBLIN
Heath Hd
Round Stone B.
Ballinasloe
Aghrim
Clonfort
KINGS COUNTY
Kildare
Naas
Carnarvan
Portumny
Port Arlington
Harristown
South Pt. of Arran
Gallway Bay
Gort
Derg Lough
Birr
Maryboro
ARE
Blessington
Kilfenora
CLARE
Nenagh
QUEENS C.
Athy
WICKLOW
Wicklow
Ballinglass
Ennis
Silvermine
Ballynekill
Slaterlogh
Arklow
Ennis Kerry Pt.
Clare Abby
Kilalow
KILKENNY
CATER
LOUGH
Brachipull Pt.
TIPPERARY
Kilkenny
Leighlin
Ferns
Shannon
Thurles
Gauran
Limeric
Cashill
Thomastown
Ennisworthy
Cape Lean or Loop Head
Askeaton
Tipperary
WEXFORD
Raven Pt.
Shannon Mouth
New C.
Killmallock
Clonmel
Knocklopher
Rosse
Wexford
Ardfert
Trally
MUNSTER
Waterford
Carnsore Pt.
Donneraile
WATERFORD
Mallo
Capergun
Blasques Is.
Dingle
Blackwater
Lismore
Waterford Harb.
Aghadoe
Ventry
Ratheomuck
Tallo
Dingle Bay
Middle T.
Dungarvan
WALES
St Davids
KERRY
Inchegeela
Cork
Clonghall
St Brides Bay
Valentia Harbor
Lee R.
CORK
Pembroke
Brandon
Ft Charles
Cork Harb.
Kilmare R.
Tricstis
Bantry
Clonkilly
Kinsale
Ross
Milford Haven
Dorses I.
Courtnay Sherry
Beer Haven
Dunmanus B.
Bundedy
Ballamore
Misen Hd
Cape Clear
British Statute Miles
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Minutes of time W. from London.
XL
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XX
T. Kitchin Sculp:

empire northward by a wall, which neither their legions, nor the trembling Britons could guard.

This might lead us to a review of the Scots in their military capacity, in which light they are truly great. Their brave defence when attacked by ſuperior arms; their noble ſtruggles in ſupport of the independency and liberties of their country, when reduced to the moſt diſtreſsful circumſtances, have gained them a reputation in the annals of Europe, that reflects honour upon their country and their name.

Such were the people whom the wiſeſt of the Engliſh monarchs, from various motives of policy, laboured to unite with their own ſubjects. The Scots, as early as the reign of Charlemagne, had engaged in a league with France, and their inflexible adherence to that nation proved the ſource of their greateſt miſery; agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, were ſacrificed to their darling profeſſion of arms. Nor did England eſcape the unhappy conſequences of this foreign alliance. At length the wiſdom of Henry VII. effected by a marriage, what his predeceſſors had in vain endeavoured to accompliſh by force of arms; and the memorable 1707 united more firmly both nations in one great kingdom. The happy effects of this great event were more eaſily perceived from a conſideration that both nations inhabited the ſame iſland, profeſſed the reformed religion, ſpoke one language, were equally diſtinguiſhed for bravery, love of liberty, and a ſimilitude in capacity and manners. Since this period, the inhabitants of both nations have mutually exerted themſelves in ſupport of the liberties of Europe and of Britain.

AN ACCOUNT OF IRELAND.

IRELAND is bounded by the Deucaledonian Sea, on the north; and on the weſt and ſouth by the great Atlantic Ocean, which ſeparates it from America; and on the eaſt, by St. George's Channel, which divides it from Britain; and is diſtant from Scotland not full 30 miles, and from Wales, about 60 miles. The whole area, or ſuperficial content of this iſland, is computed to take up about 11,067,712 Iriſh acres, plantation meaſure; the difference between Engliſh and Iriſh acres, being as 16 and an half is to 21; and it is held to bear proportion to England and Wales, as 18 is to 30.

The air is much the ſame with thoſe parts of England that lie under the ſame parallel; only in ſome parts it is more groſs and unhealthy, eſpecially to ſtrangers, on account of its many lakes, bogs, and marſhes. It is remarkable, that no venomous creatures can live in this country, as appears from repeated experiments.

There are ſome bogs in this country ſo deep, as entirely to ſwallow up a man and horſe, who ſink an unknown depth, though they are covered with turf, which ſeems to promiſe ſolid ground; however, roads have been made for horſes and carriages over theſe dreadful bogs, by ranging rows of faggots faſtened together, and covered with earth, which forms a kind of bridge that ſhakes under the feet of the paſſenger. There are other bogs that have too ſtrong a cruſt of turf to be eaſily broken, and are conſtantly paſſed in ſafety, though they ſhake and quiver at every ſtep of the foot.

Ireland is in general a fine level country, abounding in navigable rivers, numerous bays and harbours.

The inhabitants, aided by parliament, have of late years applied in good earneſt to ſundry improvements, as draining of bogs, making canals, building market-towns, incloſing the country, and enriching the ſoil; ſo that this kingdom bids fair to rival England in point of beauty and fertility. Its paſtures feed prodigious numbers of cattle, whence Ireland is enabled to ſupply the ſhips of all European nations with beef and butter: but however advantageous this trade may be in one reſpect, it is carried on to an exceſs that is very prejudicial to that kingdom in general, as it cauſes agriculture to be neglected, which would employ many more hands, and prevent the neceſſity of importing corn from England, from whence Ireland is likewiſe ſupplied with potatoes, in conſiderable quantities.

The roads in this country are excellent; but there are few or no good inns in the kingdom.

Dublin, whether we conſider it in point of extent, beauty, or the wealth of its inhabitants, claims a place among the firſt cities in Europe. The Liffey, which divides it, is generally covered with the ſhips of various nations, and the ſtreets that run along both ſides of this river, afford a very agreeable proſpect.

The Iriſh were firſt converted to Chriſtianity in the fifth century, by a zealous and devout perſon from * North Britain, whom his new diſciples diſtinguiſhed by the name of St. Patrick. The eſtabliſhed religion is the ſame as in England; but the inhabitants of the northern counties ſtill adhere to the church of Scotland. However, the moſt numerous body are the Papiſts, who will not ſubmit to the king's ſupremacy even in temporals, but place the ſame in a foreign juriſdiction. They have their biſhops and other dignitaries, like the eſtabliſhed church: but neither they, nor the inferior clergy of that communion, have any other revenues than the voluntary contributions of their poor diſciples. It is ſuppoſed, that throughout Ire-

* According to his own account, he was born at Kilpatric, a ſmall village on the river Clyde, near Dumbarton.

land, there are eight Papiſts to one Proteſtant. From ſuch a diſproportion, the latter, ever ſince the memorable 1641, have placed their ſecurity in the military and a Proteſtant militia.

The preſent inhabitants of Ireland may be divided into three different claſſes; Firſt, The original natives, who, from a ſimilitude of language and cuſtoms, are ſuppoſed to be deſcended from the Britains and Caledonians; particularly the latter, who antiently inhabited the moſt barren parts of Scotland, and being in all ages deſirous of poſſeſſing better countries than their own, it is natural to ſuppoſe that many of them might quit the bleak mountains of Argyleſhire, for the more fertile plains of Ulſter, being within the view of theſe parts. This opinion, of being anciently the ſame people, ſtill prevails among the Highlanders and the Iriſh; and it is ſaid, that, during the maſſacre of Engliſh Proteſtants in 1641, ſome propoſals were made to except the Scots from this dreadful butchery. The old Iriſh are generally repreſented as an ignorant, uncivilized people. We may, at leaſt, with equal juſtice repreſent them as the moſt oppreſſed ſubjects under the Britiſh government, and the only people who do not enjoy the benefits of our excellent conſtitution. This, however, partly proceeds from their adherence to Popery, but more eſpecially from the inhumanity and tyranny of their more immediate landlords or leaſeholders.

Human invention could not contrive a more effectual method for the inſtruction of theſe people in the real principles of Chriſtianity, and for the inuring them to induſtry, labour and obedience to their ſovereign, than the inſtitution of Engliſh Proteſtant working-ſchools over the whole kingdom.

The next claſs of people are the deſcendants of the Engliſh, who, ſince the conqueſt, gradually extended themſelves over the country, and to whoſe arts and induſtry Ireland is infinitely indebted; of theſe are moſt of the nobility, gentry, and merchants.

The third claſs are deſcended from a colony of Scots, who were ſent thither by king James I. and inhabit Belfaſt, Londonderry, and a great part of the province of Ulſter. Theſe people firſt introduced the linen manufactory into Ireland, which has been ſo very beneficial to that kingdom. They are the people who ſo bravely defended Londonderry and Inniſkillen againſt the Popiſh army under James II.

Notwithſtanding theſe ſupplies from Great Britain, Ireland is in general but thinly inhabited, and according to the lateſt computations, does not contain above one million of people.

The inhabitants of Ireland are by no means deficient in genius and bravery. To the Iriſh brigades the French were indebted for their boaſted victory at Fontenoy; and it cannot be yet forgot that generals of this nation led on the Auſtrian troops and boldly faced the greateſt warrior of modern times.

Ireland is ſtill a diſtinct, though a dependent, ſubordinate kingdom. It was only entitled the dominion or lordſhip of Ireland, and the king's ſtile was no other than *dominus Hiberniæ*, lord of Ireland, till the 33d year of king Henry VIII. when he aſſumed the title of King, which is recognized by act of parliament, 35 Hen. VIII. But, as Scotland and England are now one and the ſame kingdom, and yet differ in their municipal laws; ſo England and Ireland are, on the other hand, diſtinct kingdoms, and yet in general agree in their laws. After the conqueſt of Ireland by king Henry II. the laws of England were received and ſworn to by the Iriſh nation, aſſembled at the council of Liſmore. And as Ireland, thus conquered, planted, and governed, ſtill continues in a ſtate of dependence, it muſt neceſſarily conform to, and be obliged by, ſuch laws as the ſuperior ſtate thinks proper to preſcribe.

But this ſtate of dependence being almoſt forgotten, and ready to be diſputed by the Iriſh nation, it became

became neceſſary, ſome years ago, to declare how that matter really ſtood: and therefore by ſtatute 6 Geo. I. it is declared, that the kingdom of Ireland ought to be ſubordinate to, and dependent upon, the imperial crown of Great Britain, as being inſeparably united thereto; and that the king's majeſty, with the conſent of the lords and commons of Great Britain in parliament, hath power to make laws to bind the people of Ireland.

The conſtitution of the Iriſh government is nearly the ſame with that of England. The power of the lord-lieutenant, who repreſents the king, is in ſome meaſure reſtrained, and in others enlarged, according to the king's pleaſure, or the exigencies of the times. On his entering upon this honourable office, his letters patent are publicly read in the council chamber, and having taken the uſual oath before the lord chancellor, the ſword, which is to be carried before him, is delivered into his hands, and he is ſeated in the chair of ſtate, attended by the lord chancellor, the members of the privy council, the peers and nobles, the king at arms, a ſerjeant at mace, and other officers of ſtate; and he never appears publicly without being attended by a body of horſe-guards. Hence, with reſpect to his authority, his train and ſplendor, there is no viceroy in Chriſtendom that comes nearer the grandeur and majeſty of a king. He has a council compoſed of the great officers of the crown; namely the chancellor, treaſurer, and ſuch of the archbiſhops, earls, biſhops, barons, judges, and gentlemen, as his majeſty is pleaſed to appoint.

The parliament here as well as in England, is the ſupream court, which is convened by the king's writ; but the repreſentatives of the people enjoy their ſeat in the houſe during life, or till the death of the king. The laws are made in Ireland by the houſe of lords and commons, after which they are ſent to England for the royal approbation; when, if approved by his majeſty

majeſty and council, they paſs the great ſeal of England, and are returned. Thus the two houſes of parliament make laws which bind the kingdom, raiſe taxes for the ſupport of government, and for the maintenance of an army of 16,000 men, who are placed in barracks in ſeveral parts of the kingdom.

For the regular diſtribution of juſtice, there are alſo in Ireland, as well as in England, four terms held annually for the deciſion of cauſes; and four courts of juſtice, the chancery, king's-bench, common-pleas, and exchequer.

With reſpect to the trade of Ireland, the diſcouragements laid upon it by the act of navigation, and other laws made in England, are ſo numerous, that it cannot be expected it ſhould flouriſh to ſuch a degree as its natural ſituation, extended coaſts, commodious harbours, bays and rivers ſeem to promiſe. The chief exports of Ireland conſiſt of linen cloth and yarn, lawns and cambricks, which are manufactured to great perfection, and exported to conſiderable advantage; the Engliſh laws giving great encouragements to this branch of trade, which, with a few exceptions, may be ſaid to be the ſource of all the wealth in Ireland. To theſe may be added, wool and woollen yarn exported to England only; beef, pork, green hides, ſome tanned leather, calf-ſkins dried, great quantities of butter, tallow, candles, ox and cow horns, ox hair, a ſmall quantity of lead, copper-ore, herrings, dried fiſh, rabbit-ſkins, and fur; otter-ſkins, goat-ſkins, ſalmon, and a few other particulars. Wool and yarn are allowed to be exported only to England; but from the thirſt of gain, many ſhip-loads are ſent by ſtealth to France, to the great detriment of the woollen trade; and perhaps the beſt method of preventing it for the future, would be to reſtore the woollen manufacture to Ireland, at leaſt in the coarſe branches of it, and to make it the intereſt of the Iriſh to employ their wool at home.

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The Iriſh, however, enjoy many advantages unknown to Britons. If they are denied ſome privileges in trade, they are not ſaddled with our taxes and heavy duties. The productions of their country are cheap; in the metropolis of the kingdom beef ſells at two-pence per pound, turkies at one ſhilling and ſix-pence, and a variety of fiſh, at a trifling rate. French claret is landed at little more than one ſhilling per bottle, and all other foreign commodities (that have not been bleſſed with a Britiſh exciſe) may be had in the ſame proportion.

With regard to the other adjacent iſlands which are ſubject to the crown of Great Britain, ſome of them (as the iſle of Wight, of Portland, of Thanet, &c.) are comprized within ſome neighbouring county, and are therefore to be looked upon as annexed to the mother iſland, and part of the kingdom of England. Likewiſe the Orkneys, and many more that belong to Scotland. But there are others which require a more particular conſideration.

And, firſt, the Iſle of Man is a diſtinct territory from England, and is not governed by our laws; neither doth any act of parliament extend to it, unleſs it be particularly named therein; and then an act of parliament is binding there. It was formerly a ſubordinate feudatory kingdom, ſubject to the kings of Norway; then to king John and Henry III. of England; afterward to the kings of Scotland; and after various grants, it fell at laſt into the hands of the duke of Athol. But the diſtinct juriſdiction of this little ſubordinate royalty being found inconvenient for the purpoſes of public juſtice, and for the revenue (it affording a commodious aſylum for debtors, outlaws, and ſmugglers) authority was given to the treaſury by ſtatute 12 Geo. I. c. 28. to purchaſe the intereſt of the then proprietors for the uſe of the crown: which purchaſe was at length compleated in the year 1765, and confirmed by ſtatute 5 Geo. III. c. 26 and 39. whereby the whole iſland and all its dependencies, ſo granted as aforeſaid

ſaid (except the landed property of the Athol family, their manerial rights and emoluments, and the patronage of the biſhopric, and other eccleſiaſtical benefices) are unalienably veſted in the crown, and ſubjected to the regulations of the Britiſh exciſe and cuſtoms.

The iſlands of Jerſey, Guernſey, Sark, Alderney, and their appendages, were parcel of the dutchy of Normandy, and were united to the crown of England by the firſt princes of the Norman line. They are governed by their own laws, which are, for the moſt part, the ducal cuſtoms of Normandy, being collected in an ancient book of very great authority, intitled, *le Grand Couſtumier*. The king's writ, or proceſs from the courts of Weſtminſter, is there of no force; but his commiſſion is. They are not bound by common acts of our parliaments, unleſs particularly named. All cauſes are originally determined by their own officers, the bailiffs and jurats of the iſlands; but an appeal lies from them to the king in council, in the laſt reſort.

Beſide theſe adjacent iſlands, our more diſtant plantations in America and elſewhere, are alſo in ſome reſpects ſubject to the Engliſh laws. Plantations, or colonies in diſtant countries, are either ſuch where the lands are claimed by right of occupancy only, by finding them deſart and uncultivated, and peopling them from the mother country; or where, when already cultivated, they have been either gained by conqueſt, or ceded to us by treaties. And both theſe rights are founded upon the law of nature, or at leaſt upon that of nations. But there is a difference between theſe two ſpecies of colonies, with reſpect to the laws by which they are bound. For it hath been held, that if an uninhabited country be diſcovered and planted by Engliſh ſubjects, all the Engliſh laws then in being, which are the birthright of every ſubject, are immediately there in force. But this muſt be underſtood with many and very great reſtrictions. Such coloniſts carry with them only ſo much

much of the Engliſh law, as is applicable to their own ſituation, and the condition of an infant colony; ſuch, for inſtance, as the general rules of inheritance, and of protection from perſonal injuries. The artificial refinements and diſtinctions incident to the property of a great and commercial people, the laws of police and revenue (ſuch eſpecially as are inforced by penalties) the mode of maintenance for the eſtabliſhed clergy, the juriſdiction of ſpiritual courts, and a multitude of other proviſions, are neither neceſſary nor convenient for them, and therefore are not in force. What ſhall be admitted and what rejected, at what times, and under what reſtrictions, muſt, in caſe of diſpute, be decided in the firſt inſtance, by their own provincial judicature, ſubject to the reviſion and control of the king in council; the whole of their conſtitution being alſo liable to be new-modelled and reformed, by the general ſuperintending power of the legiſlature in the mother country. But in conquered or ceded countries, that have already laws of their own, the king may indeed alter and change thoſe laws; but, till he does actually change them, the ancient laws of the country remain, unleſs ſuch as are againſt the law of God, as in the caſe of an infidel country. Our American plantations are principally of this latter ſort, being obtained in the laſt century, either by right of conqueſt, and driving out the natives (with what natural juſtice ſhall not at preſent be decided) or by treaties. And therefore the common law of England, as ſuch, has no allowance or authority there; they being no part of the mother country, but diſtinct (though dependent) dominions. They are ſubject, however, to the control of the parliament; though (like Ireland, Man, and the reſt) not bound by any acts of parliament, unleſs particularly named.

With reſpect to their interior polity, our colonies are properly of three ſorts. 1. Provincial eſtabliſhments, the conſtitutions of which depend on the reſpective commiſſions iſſued by the crown to the governors,

vernors, and the inſtructions which uſually accompany thoſe commiſſions; under the authority of which, provincial aſſemblies are conſtituted, with the power of making local ordinances, not repugnant to the laws of England. 2. Proprietary governments, granted out by the crown to individuals, in the nature of feudatory principalities, with all the inferior regalities, and ſubordinate powers of legiſlation, which formerly belonged to the owners of counties palatine: yet ſtill with theſe expreſs conditions, that the ends for which the grant was made, be ſubſtantially purſued, and that nothing be attempted, which may derogate from the ſovereignty of the mother country. 3. Charter governments, in the nature of civil corporations, with the power of making bye-laws for their own interior regulation, not contrary to the laws of England; and with ſuch rights and authorities as are ſpecially given them in their ſeveral charters of incorporation. The form of government in moſt of them is borrowed from that of England. They have a governor named by the king (or in ſome proprietary colonies by the proprietor) who is his repreſentative or deputy. They have courts of juſtice of their own, from whoſe deciſions an appeal lies to the king in council here in England. Their general aſſemblies, which are their houſes of commons, together with their councils of ſtate, being their upper houſes, with the concurrence of the king or his repreſentative the governor, make laws ſuited to their own emergencies. But it is particularly declared by ſtatute 7 and 8 W. III. c. 22. that all laws, bye-laws, uſages, and cuſtoms, which ſhall be in practice in any of the plantations, repugnant to any law, made or to be made in this kingdom relative to the ſaid plantations, ſhall be utterly void and of none effect. And, becauſe ſeveral of the colonies had claimed the ſole and excluſive right of impoſing taxes upon themſelves, the ſtatute 6 Geo. III. c. 12. expreſsly declares, that all his majeſty's colonies and plantations

tations in America have been, are, and of right ought to be, ſubordinate to and dependent upon the imperial crown and parliament of Great Britain; who have full power and authority to make laws and ſtatutes of ſufficient validity to bind the colonies and people of America, ſubjects of the crown of Great Britain, in all caſes whatſoever.

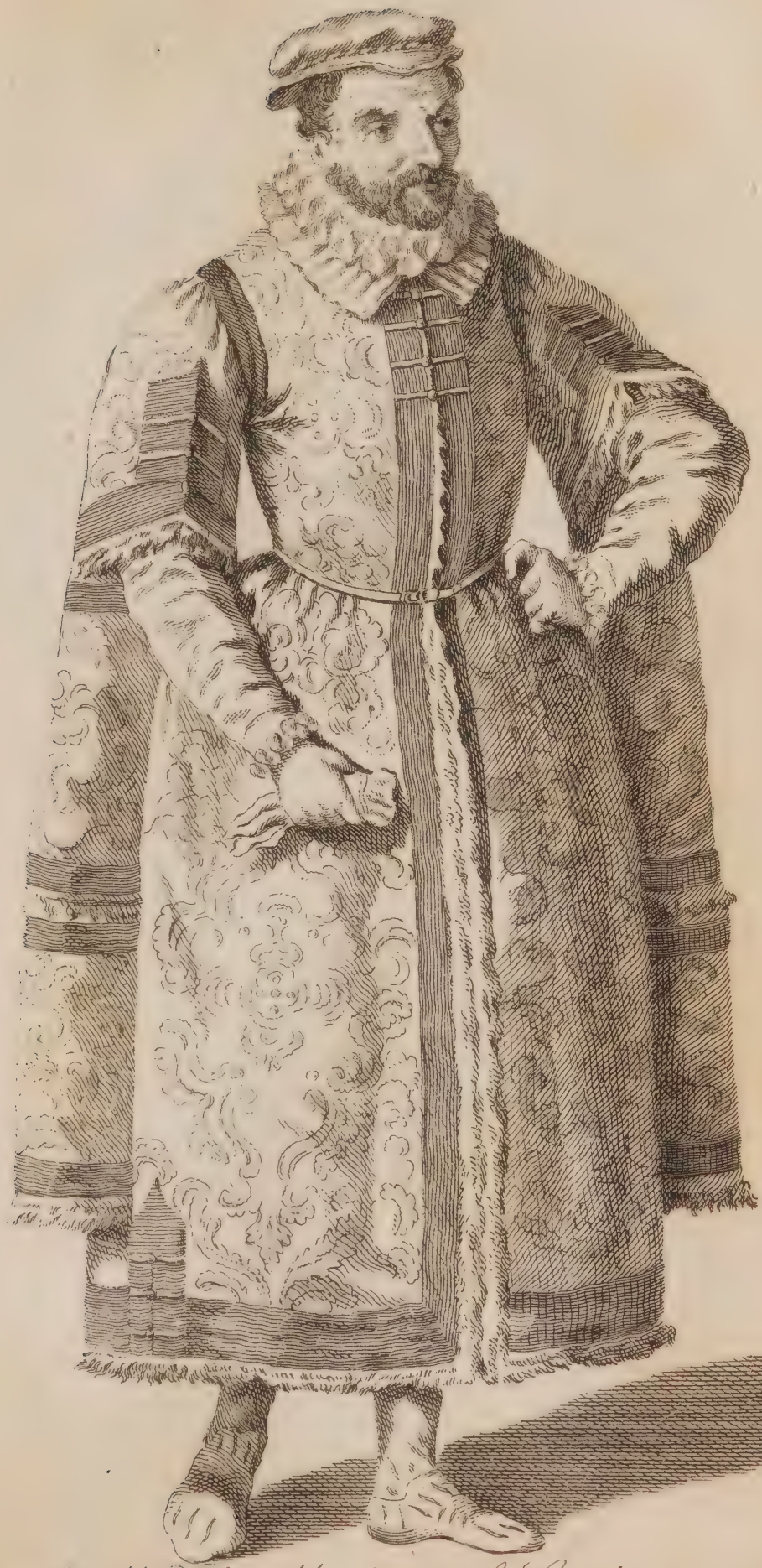
Theſe are the ſeveral parts of the dominions of the crown of Great Britain, in which the municipal laws of England are not of force or authority, merely as the municipal laws of England. Moſt of them have probably copied the ſpirit of their own law from this original; but then it receives its obligation, and authoritative force, from being the law of the country.

As to any foreign dominions which may belong to the perſon of the king by hereditary deſcent, by purchaſe, or other acquiſition, as the territory of Hanover, and his majeſty's other property in Germany; as theſe do not in any wiſe appertain to the crown of theſe kingdoms, they are entirely unconnected with the laws of England, and do not communicate with this nation in any reſpect whatſoever. The Engliſh legiſlature had wiſely remarked the inconveniencies that had formerly reſulted from dominions on the continent of Europe; from the Norman territory which William the Conqueror brought with him, and held in conjunction with the Engliſh throne; and from Anjou, and its appendages, which fell to Henry II. by hereditary deſcent. They had ſeen the nation engaged for near four hundred years together in ruinous wars for defence of theſe foreign dominions; till, happily for this country, they were loſt under the reign of Henry VI. They obſerved, that, from that time, the maritime intereſts of England were better underſtood, and more cloſely purſued: that, in conſequence of this attention, the nation, as ſoon as ſhe had reſted from her civil wars, began at this period

period to flouriſh all at once; and became much more conſiderable in Europe, than when her princes were poſſeſſed of a larger territory, and her councils diſtracted by foreign intereſts. This experience, and theſe conſiderations, gave birth to a conditional clauſe in the act of ſettlement, which veſted the crown in his preſent majeſty's illuſtrious houſe, "That in caſe the crown and imperial dignity of "this realm ſhall hereafter come to any perſon "not being a native of this kingdom of England, "this nation ſhall not be obliged to engage in any "war for the defence of any dominions or terri-"tories which do not belong to the crown of Eng-"land, without conſent of parliament."

[AFTER this review of the Britiſh empire, we have, though not introduced by any hiſtorical narrative, given a view of the Engliſh dreſs at two remarkable periods, which when compared with that of our own times, may amuſe ſome of our readers.]

A SHORT



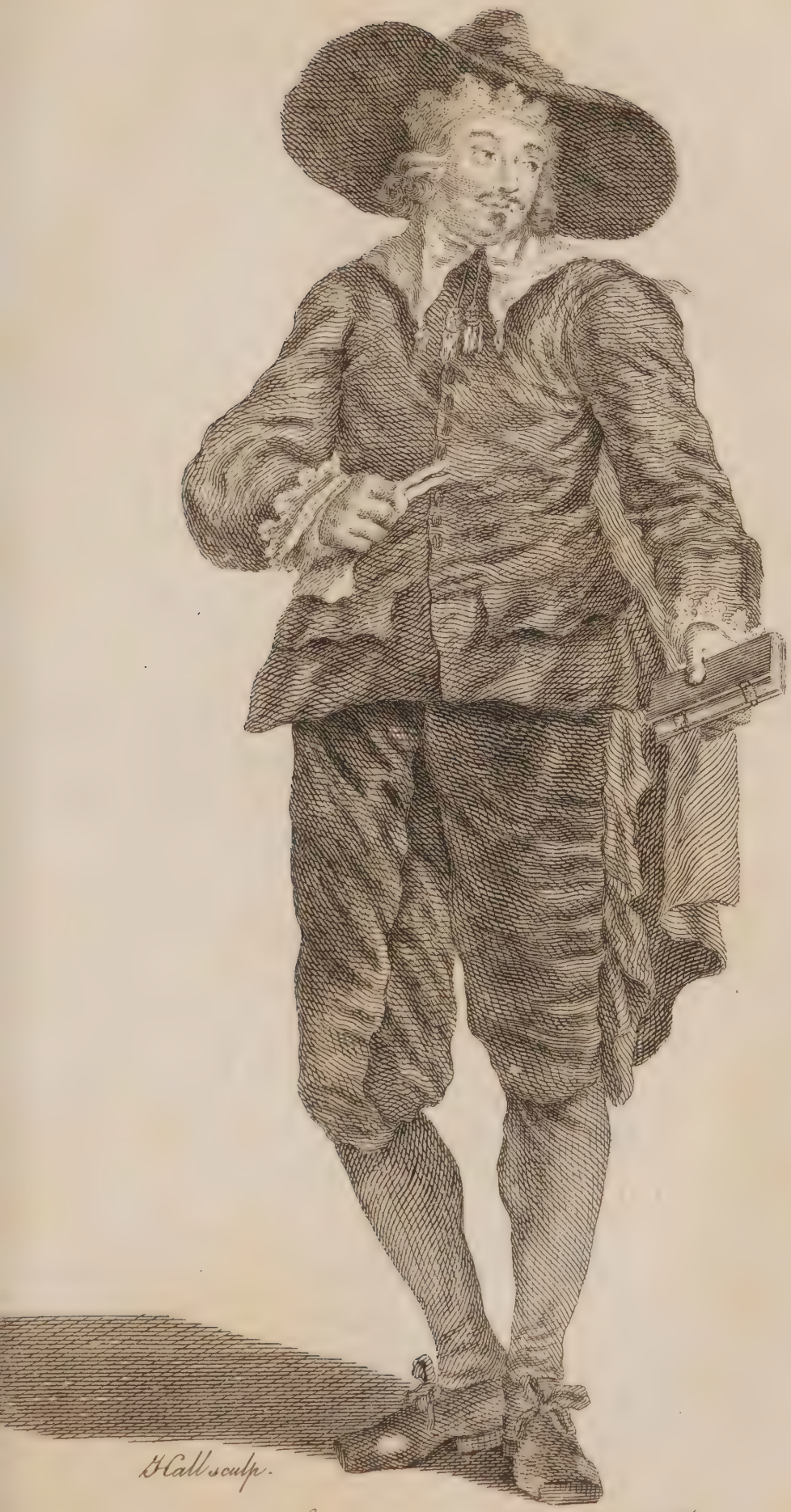
Habit of a Wealthy Merchant of London in 1588.

Hall sc.

Habit of a Nobleman of England, in 164

J. Hall sc.

Habit of the Lady Mayoress of London in 1640.



Habit of an Oliverian an English Partisan in 1650.

A SHORT VIEW OF THE NAVAL TRANSACTIONS OF BRITAIN:

Beginning with the Reign of Queen ELIZABETH, and ending with the PEACE of VERSAILLES in 1762.

THE extenſive commerce of Great Britain having increaſed her riches and power, and thence enabled her to acquire a very reſpectable influence among the European ſtates; ſome of them much her ſuperiors in extent of territory and numbers of people: it is a very natural ſubject of inquiry to aſk what peculiar circumſtances operated ſo happily in her favour? In this inveſtigation, it will not be long before it is diſcovered, that whatever cauſes beſide might cooperate; the proſperity of Britain is primarily owing to its inſular ſituation; and to its being an iſland of ſuch a ſize, as to poſſeſs ſufficient internal ſtrength to make proper improvement of its exterior advantages.

Theſe advantages were indeed enjoyed but in part, before the two kingdoms underſtood their mutual intereſt ſo well as to unite together in one empire. England, it is true, was always formidable before; but it is ſince that happy period that Great Britain has ſhone with ſuperior luſtre; and ſhewn, what a

brave and a free people, ſo fortunately ſituated, can perform, under prudent conduct, for their common intereſt.

After a general collection of voyages and travels, in which we have ranged the globe at large, and informed ourſelves concerning diſtant nations; as we find our own iſland ſo peculiarly calculated for a maritime power, and ſo eminently diſtinguiſhed as one; it will certainly be a very intereſting amuſement to a Britiſh reader, to trace, in a hiſtorical view, thoſe ſignal naval tranſactions, from which our mariners have derived ſo much glory, and our country ſuch capital emoluments, and ſuch aſcendancy on the ocean.

England from the earlieſt ages was diſtinguiſhed as a maritime nation, compared with her cotemporaries at the ſeveral periods. But it was not until the time of Queen Elizabeth, that the conſtitution began to ſettle; and a commercial intereſt to take place of the old feudal ſyſtem. This inſpired the government with a vigour heretofore little known; the effects of which were ſhewn to great advantage under the reſolute princeſs with whom we ſhall commence a review of the Britiſh marine.

PERHAPS there never was a kingdom in a more diſtreſſed condition than England, at the acceſſion of Queen Elizabeth. It was engaged in a war abroad for the intereſt of a foreign prince; at home the people were divided and diſtracted about their religious and civil concerns. Thoſe of the reformed religion had been lately expoſed to the flames, and thoſe of the Roman community found themſelves now in a declining ſtate. On the continent we had no allies; in this very iſland the Scots were enemies, and their queen claimed the Engliſh crown. The exchequer was exhauſted; moſt of the forts and caſtles throughout the kingdom mouldering into ruins; at ſea we had loſt much of our ancient reputation; and a too

ſharp

ſharp ſenſe of their miſfortunes, had dejected the whole nation to the laſt degree.

Elizabeth was about twenty-five years of age, had quick parts, an excellent education, much prudence, and withal, what ſhe inherited from her father, a high and haughty ſpirit, qualified by a warm and tender affection for her people, and an abſolute contempt of thoſe pleaſures, by the indulging which, princes are too commonly miſled. She received the compliments on her acceſſion, with majeſty; and ſhe ſupported her dignity even in her dying moments.

The firſt act of the queen's government was aſſerting her independency. She made an order in council, in the preamble of which it was recited, that the diſtreſſes of the kingdom were chiefly owing to the influence of foreign counſels in the late reign; and therefore the queen thought fit to declare, that ſhe was a free princeſs, and meant ſo to act, without any farther applications to Spain, than the concerns of her people abſolutely required. On the twenty-firſt of November, when ſhe had worn the crown but three days, ſhe ſent orders to vice-admiral Malyn, to draw together as many ſhips as he could for the defence of the narrow ſeas, and for preventing likewiſe all perſons from entering into, or paſſing out of the kingdom without licence; which he performed ſo ſtrictly, that in a ſhort time the council were forced to relax their orders, and to ſignify to the warden of the Cinque-ports, that the queen meant not to impriſon her ſubjects, but that perſons might paſs and repaſs about their lawful concerns.

With like diligence, proviſion was made for the ſecurity of Dover, Portſmouth, and the Iſle of Wight, ſo that by the end of the year, the kingdom was out of all danger from any ſudden inſult, and the queen at leiſure to conſider how ſhe might farther ſtrengthen it, ſo as to render all the projects of her enemies abortive. Her entrance on government had the ſame appearance of wiſdom as if ſhe had been years upon the

throne, and the hopes raiſed by her firſt actions were ſupported and even exceeded by the ſteadineſs of her conduct; ſo that by a firm and uniform behaviour ſhe ſecured the reverence and affection of her ſubjects at home, and eſtabliſhed a character abroad that prevented any immediate enterprizes upon her dominions in that feeble and fluctuating condition in which ſhe found them.

In the month of April 1559, peace was concluded with France; and therein, amongſt other things, it was provided, that, after the term of eight years, the French ſhould render to the queen the town of Calais, or pay her fifty thouſand crowns by way of penalty. In this treaty, the Dauphin and the queen of Scots were alſo included: but this was very indifferently performed; for the French immediately began to ſend over great forces into Scotland, where they intended, firſt to root out the proteſtant religion, and then to have made themſelves entirely maſters of the kingdom. This proceeding ſo alarmed the nobility of Scotland, that they applied for protection to Queen Elizabeth; who foreſeeing the conſequence of ſuffering the French to eſtabliſh an intereſt in Scotland, determined to ſend thither aſſiſtance both by land and ſea.

In the mean time a ſtrict but legal inquiry was made into the loſs of Calais in the late reign. The Lord Wentworth, on whom many aſperſions had fallen, was very fairly tried and honourably acquitted by his peers; but the captains Chamberlain and Harleſton, were condemned, though the queen thought fit to pardon them. As for Lord Grey, his gallant defence of the fortreſs, wherein he was governor, exempted him from any proſecution; inſtead of which, he was appointed commander in chief of the forces that were to march into Scotland. The fleet was commanded by Admiral Winter, which ſailed up the Frith of Forth, blocked up Leith by ſea, while the army of the Scots lords, and the Engliſh auxiliaries under

Lord

Lord Grey, beſieged it by land, and in a very ſhort ſpace forced the French garriſon to capitulate. Thus all the deſigns of France on that ſide, were entirely broken, and the queen left to look to her own concerns, which ſhe did with ſuch diligence, that in two years ſpace, religion was reſtored, the principal grievances felt under the former government redreſſed; baſe money taken away, the forts throughout the kingdom repaired, and trade brought into a flouriſhing condition.

But above all, the navy was the queen's peculiar care; ſhe directed a moſt exact ſurvey of it to be made, a very ſtrict enquiry into the cauſes of its decay, and the ſureſt means by which it might be recovered. She iſſued orders for preſerving timber fit for building, directed many pieces of braſs cannon to be caſt, and encouraged the making gunpowder here at home, which had been hitherto brought from abroad at a vaſt expence. For the ſecurity of her fleet, which generally lay in the river Medway, ſhe built a ſtrong fortreſs, called Upnore-Caſtle. The wages of the ſeamen ſhe raiſed, enlarged the number, and augmented the ſalaries of her naval officers; drew over foreigners ſkilled in the arts relating to navigation, to inſtruct her people, and by the pains ſhe took in theſe affairs, excited a ſpirit of emulation among her ſubjects, who began every where to exert themſelves in like manner, by repairing of ports, and building veſſels of all ſizes, eſpecially large and ſtout ſhips, fit for war, as well as commerce. From all which, as Mr. Camden tells us, the queen juſtly acquired the glorious title of the RESTORER OF NAVAL POWER, and SOVEREIGN of the NORTHERN SEAS; inſomuch, that foreign nations were ſtruck with awe at the queen's proceedings, and were now willing reſpectfully to court a power, which had been ſo lately the object of their contempt.

The civil diſſentions in the kingdom of France, which gave the court a pretence for oppreſſing thoſe

of the reformed religion, whom they called Huguenots, produced in the year 1562, very deſtructive conſequences to their neighbours. The French proteſtants had long ſued to Elizabeth for protection, and offered to put the port of Havre de Grace, then called Newhaven, into her hands; which ſhe at length accepted, and ſent over Ambroſe Dudley, earl of Warwick, in the month of September 1562, with a conſiderable fleet, and a good body of troops on board, who entered into the town, and kept poſſeſſion of it till the twenty-ninth of July following.

The taking into our hands this place, proved of infinite detriment to the French; for the court having declared all Engliſh ſhips good prize, ſo long as the queen held that port, ſhe found herſelf obliged to iſſue a like proclamation; whereupon, ſuch numbers of privateers were fitted out from Engliſh ports, and from Newhaven, that the ſpoil they made is almoſt incredible. A maritime power injured, inſtead of expoſtulating, immediately makes repriſals, and thereby extorts apologies from the aggreſſors made ſenſible of their paſt miſtake. But by degrees this ſpirit of privateering grew to ſuch a height, that the queen for her own ſafety, and the honour of the nation, was obliged to reſtrain it.

Philip II. of Spain, from the time of Queen Elizabeth's acceſſion to the throne, had dealt with her very deceitfully, ſometimes pretending to be her firm friend, at others, ſeeking every occaſion to injure and moleſt her ſubjects, which he had more frequent opportunities of doing, from the great commerce they carried on in Flanders. Yet, while theſe things diſturbed the nation's tranquillity in a certain degree, France and the Low Countries, were much more grievouſly torn through religious diſputes, which by degrees kindled a civil war. The proteſtants being the weakeſt, and withal the moſt injured party, the queen was inclined to favour them, and to afford them ſome aſſiſtance, though ſhe was not willing abſolutely

to

to break either with the moſt Chriſtian, or with the Catholic king.

In the midſt of theſe difficulties, the queen took every opportunity to encourage her people, in proſecuting new ſchemes of trade abroad, or purſuing what might be an improvement of their lands at home. With this view ſhe ſometimes contributed ſhips, ſometimes gave money, at others, entered into partnerſhip: in ſhort, ſhe neglected nothing which might ſhew her maternal tenderneſs for all her ſubjects.

The provinces of Zealand and Holland had now delivered themſelves from the Spaniſh bondage, and were growing conſiderable in the world by their maritime power. This however, had a bad effect on the diſpoſition of the common people, who became inſufferably inſolent to all their neighbours, and particularly to us who had been their principal benefactors. Their pretence for this was, our correſponding with the inhabitants of Dunkirk, who were their enemies. At firſt, therefore, they took only ſuch ſhips as were bound to that port; but by degrees they went farther, and committed ſuch notorious piracies, that the queen was again forced to ſend the comptroller of the navy, Mr. Holſtock, with a ſmall ſquadron to ſea, who quickly drove the Dutch frigates into their harbours, and ſent two hundred of their ſeamen to priſon. The queen, not ſatisfied with this puniſhment, ſent Sir William Winter, and Robert Beale, Eſq; to demand reſtitution of the goods taken from her ſubjects; which, however, they did not obtain; and on this account the Dutch factors here ſuffered ſeverely.

But as for ſuch refugees of all nations, as fled hither for the ſake of religion, ſhe not only received them kindly, but granted them various privileges, in order to induce them to ſtay, and fix here the manufactures in which they had laboured in their own countries. This policy ſucceeded ſo well, that Colcheſter, Norwich,

wich, Yarmouth, Canterbury, and many other places were filled with thoſe induſtrious foreigners, who taught us to weave variety of ſilk and worſted ſtuffs; while many alſo from Germany were ſent into the North, where they employed themſelves in mining, making ſalt-petre, forging all ſorts of tools made of iron, which were arts abſolutely unknown to us before their arrival.

The growth of this kingdom's power and commerce, being ſo conſpicuous, left King Philip of Spain, the moſt penetrating prince of his time, no room to doubt, that his projects for aſſuming the ſupream dominion of Europe, or at leaſt the abſolute direction of it, would be rendered entirely abortive, unleſs ſome method could be contrived for ruining England at once. The catholic king had three points in view, not for diſtreſſing only, but for deſtroying Queen Elizabeth, and utterly ſubverting the Engliſh ſtate. The firſt of theſe was, uniting againſt her, under colour of religion, moſt of the princes and ſtates abroad; which, by the aſſiſtance of the pope, joined to his own extenſive influence, he, in a good meaſure, effected. His ſecond point was, perplexing the queen at home, by countenancing the popiſh faction, and by maintaining, at a vaſt expence, ſuch fugitives as fled from hence, in which he was likewiſe for ſome time ſucceſsful. The laſt thing King Philip had at heart was the providing, as ſecretly as might be, ſuch a force as, with the aſſiſtance of his other ſchemes, might enable him to make himſelf entirely maſter of England at once: to which end he with great diligence ſought to increaſe his maritime power, and upon the pretence of his wars in the Netherlands, to keep under the command of the prince of Parma, one of the ableſt generals that, or perhaps any age ever produced, ſuch an army in conſtant readineſs there, as might be ſufficient to atchieve this conqueſt, when he ſhould have a fleet ſtrong enough to protect them in their paſſage. In the proſecution

ſecution of theſe deep laid projects, Philip met with many favourable circumſtances, which might, and very probably did, ſtrongly flatter his hopes: particularly, the death of the queen of Scots, which ſtained the character of Elizabeth in foreign courts; and his own acquiſition of the kingdom of Portugal, by which he gained a vaſt acceſſion of naval ſtrength.

Queen Elizabeth and her miniſters, were too penetrating, and had too quick, as well as certain intelligence, to be at all in the dark, as to the purpoſe of the king of Spain; and their prudence was ſuch, that by every method poſſible, they prepared to diſappoint him, without diſcloſing their apprehenſions to the world. With this intent they laboured to convince foreign ſtates, that King Philip was a common enemy, and that he aimed alike at ſubduing all his neighbours; which being alſo ſtrictly true, had, undoubtedly, a proper weight. In the next place, pains were taken to cultivate a cloſer correſpondence with his diſcontented ſubjects in the Netherlands, and to furniſh them with money, and ſecretly with other aids, whereby they were enabled to give ſome check to his power, both by ſea and land. Our own privateers were allowed to paſs into the Weſt Indies, where they carried on an illicit trade, not more to their own profit than the public benefit: for, by this means, they gained a perfect acquaintance with the ports, rivers, and fortreſſes in the Weſt Indies, with the nature of the commerce tranſacted there, the method of ſharing it by fair means, or of deſtroying it by force. Thus, notwithſtanding their immenſe wealth, and extenſive dominions, the Engliſh were in ſome meaſure a match for the Spaniards, in all places and at all points.

But ſtill, the great ſecret by which the queen defeated all King Philip's political inventions, ſeems to have been ſcarcely known, to moſt of the writers, who have undertaken to acquaint us with the tranſactions of her reign. It was in reality this; ſhe diſcovered the

the principal inſtruments he intended to make uſe of for her deſtruction; but inſtead of expoſing or deſtroying them, ſhe contrived ſo to manage them by her creatures, as to make them actually fulfill her purpoſes, though they remained all the time tools and penſioners to Spain.

The queen's apprehenſions of the Spaniard's deſigns, were certainly conceived much earlier than moſt of our hiſtorians imagine, as appears from the ſtate-papers in her reign; among which, from the year 1574, we meet with nothing more frequent, than inſtructions for viewing fortifications, examining the condition of our forts, enquiring into the ſtrength, and poſture of our militia, taking frequent muſters; and, in fine, forming from all theſe enquiries, a brief ſtate of the military and naval power of her dominions: whereby it appears, that the able men throughout England, were computed to be one hundred, eighty-two thouſand, nine hundred, twenty-nine, by which were intended ſerviceable men; and of ſuch as were armed, and in a continual capacity of acting, there were ſixty-two thouſand, four hundred, and ſixty-two; and of light-horſe two thouſand five hundred ſixty-ſix. In an account of the royal navy in 1578, it alſo appears, that it conſiſted of no more than twenty-four ſhips of all ſizes. The largeſt was called the Triumph, of the burthen of a thouſand tons; the ſmalleſt was the George, which was under ſixty tons. At the ſame time, all the ſhips throughout England, of an hundred tons and upward, were but one hundred thirty-five; and all under an hundred, and upward of forty tons, were ſix hundred and ſixty-ſix.

It muſt give every candid and attentive reader a very high idea of the wiſdom and fortitude of Queen Elizabeth, and her miniſters, when he is told, that during the whole time Spain was providing ſo formidable an invaſion, they were aſſiduouſly employed in cheriſhing the commerce and naval power of England;

land; without ſuffering themſelves to be at all intimidated, either by the enemy's boaſts, or by the intelligence they had of their great ſtrength and vaſt preparations. To diſtreſs King Philip in bringing home his treaſures from the Weſt Indies, many adventurers were licenſed to cruiſe in thoſe ſeas, and the queen herſelf lent ſome ſhips for this purpoſe. To delay the invaſion as much as poſſible, or if it had been practicable, to defeat it, the queen ſent a ſtout fleet under Sir Francis Drake, in 1587, to Cadiz; where that admiral performed rather more than could be expected: for he forced ſix gallies which were deſigned to have guarded the port, to ſhelter themſelves under the cannon of their caſtles, and then burnt a hundred ſhips and upward in the bay, all of which were laden with ammunition and proviſions. From thence he ſailed to Cape St. Vincent, where he ſurprized ſome forts, and entirely deſtroyed the fiſhing craft in the neighbourhood.

Arriving at the mouth of the Tayo, and underſtanding that the Marquis de Santa Cruz lay hard by, with a ſquadron of good ſhips, he challenged him to come out and fight; but the marquis, who was one of the beſt ſeamen in Spain, adhering cloſely to his maſter's orders, choſe rather to let Drake burn and deſtroy every thing on the coaſt than hazard an engagement. Sir Francis, having done this, ſteered for the Azores, where he took a large ſhip homeward bound from the Eaſt Indies, which added as much to his profit, as his former glorious exploits had done to his reputation; and ſo returned home in triumph. This expedition delayed the Spaniards for ſome months; but in the ſpring of the next year, his enormous fleet being almoſt ready, King Philip gave orders that it ſhould rendezvous at Liſbon, in order to paſs from thence to England.

His catholic majeſty preſumed ſo much on the force of this extraordinary fleet, ſuperior certainly to any thing that had been fitted out for ages before, that inſtead

inſtead of concealing its ſtrength, he cauſed a very accurate account of it to be publiſhed in Latin, and moſt of the languages ſpoken in Europe, except Engliſh. This piece was dated May 20th, 1588; and according to it, the moſt happy Armada, as it was therein ſtiled, (afterward chriſtened by the pope the Invincible Armada) conſiſted of 130 ſhips, in all 57,868 tons; on board which were 8450 mariners, 19,295 ſoldiers, 2088 ſlaves, and 2630 pieces of cannon. Beſide, there was a large fleet of tenders, with a prodigious quantity of arms on board, intended for ſuch as ſhould join them. There were alſo on board this fleet 124 volunteers of quality, and about 180 monks of ſeveral orders.

The command of the whole was originally deſigned to have been veſted in the abovementioned marquis de Santa Cruz, a nobleman of known valour, and great experience, of which he had given high proofs in the famous battle of Lepanto: but he dying, the duke of Medina Sidonia, Don Alphonſo de Guſman, was appointed in his ſtead, rather on account of his ſuperior quality than his diſtinguiſhed merit. Under him ſerved Don Martinez de Ricalde, an old experienced Biſcaneer, who had the direction of all things, and by whoſe advice the general was entirely led.

In the firſt place, the queen took care to give proper information to all foreign ſtates, of the nature and intent of this project of the king of Spain's, pointing out to them, not her own, but their danger, in caſe that monarch ſhould prevail; which method being as prudently carried into practice, as it was wiſely contrived, the king of Denmark, at the requeſt of her ambaſſador, laid an embargo on a very ſtrong ſquadron of ſhips hired for the uſe of King Philip in his dominions. The Hanſe-Towns, determined enemies at that time to England, retarded, however, the ſhips they were to have ſent to Spain, which, though a very ſeaſonable act of prudence then, proved fatal to them afterward. King James VI. of Scotland buried

buried all his reſentments for his mother's death, and ſteadily adhered to his own, by following the queen's intereſts. The French were too wiſe to afford the Spaniards any help; and the Dutch fitted out a conſiderable navy, for the ſervice of the queen, under the command of Count Juſtin of Naſſau.

A Liſt of the Engliſh Fleet, under the Command of Charles Lord Howard of Effingham, Lord High Admiral.

Men of war belonging to her majeſty,	17
Other ſhips hired by her majeſty for this ſervice,	12
Tenders and ſtore-ſhips,	6
Furniſhed by the city of London, being double the number the queen demanded, all well-manned, and throughly provided with ammunition and proviſion,	16
Tenders and ſtore-ſhips,	4
Furniſhed by the city of Briſtol, large and ſtrong ſhips, and which did excellent ſervice,	3
A tender,	1
From Barnſtaple, merchant-ſhips converted into frigates,	3
From Exeter,	2
A ſtout pinnace,	1
From Plymouth, ſtout ſhips, every way equal to the queen's men of war,	7
A fly-boat,	1
Under the command of Lord Henry Seymour, in the narrow ſeas, of the queen's ſhips and veſſels in her ſervice,	16
Ships fitted out at the expence of the nobility, gentry, and commons of England,	43
By the merchant-adventurers, prime ſhips, and excellently well furniſhed,	10
Sir William Winter's pinnace,	1
In all	143

The

The liſt at large given by Mr. Entick, makes them amount to 197 ſhips. The quantity of guns carried by the Engliſh fleet is not to be found; but though we outnumbered the Spaniards in veſſels, the Engliſh fleet was greatly inferior both in tonnage, and in the number of men.

The Engliſh fleet was commanded by Charles Lord Howard of Effingham, then high-admiral, who had under him for his vice-admiral, Sir Francis Drake; for his rear-admiral, Sir John Hawkins, and abundance of experienced officers, who had ſignalized their courage and conduct: their orders were to lie on the weſtern coaſt, that they might be ready to receive the enemy. Lord Henry Seymour, in conjunction with Count Naſſau, cruized on the coaſt of Flanders, the better to prevent the prince of Parma from making any deſcent, as it was expected he would attempt to do with the army under his command.

In regard to a land-force, the queen had three armies; the firſt conſiſted of 20,000 men, cantoned along the ſouthern coaſt; another of 22,000 foot and 1000 horſe, which was encamped near Tilbury, under the command of the earl of Leiceſter; the third, which was made up of 34,000 foot, and 2000 horſe, all choſen men, was for the guard of the queen's perſon, their commander being the Lord Hunſdon, a brave, active, and reſolute nobleman, the queen's near relation.

The Spaniſh fleet ſailed from the river of Liſbon, on the firſt of June, N. S. with as great pomp, and as ſanguine hopes, as any fleet ever did. The king's inſtructions to the duke of Medina Sidonia, were to repair to the road of Calais, in order to be joined there by the prince of Parma, and then to purſue ſuch further orders as he ſhould find in a ſealed letter delivered to the general with his inſtructions. It was further recommended to him, to keep as cloſe as poſſible to the French ſhore, in order to prevent the Engliſh from having any intelligence of his approach;

and in caſe he met our fleet, he was to avoid fighting to the utmoſt of his power, and to endeavour only to defend himſelf. But in doubling the North-cape, the fleet was ſeparated by foul weather, which obliged the general to ſail to the Groyne, where he reaſſembled his ſhips, and had intelligence, that the Engliſh fleet, believing their expedition laid aſide, was put into Plymouth.

Upon this he held a council of war, to conſider whether they ſhould adhere ſtrictly to the king's order, or embrace this favourable opportunity of burning the Engliſh fleet in their harbour; an attempt certainly not impracticable. After a long debate, wherein many were of a contrary opinion, it was reſolved to attempt the Engliſh fleet; and this chiefly at the inſtigation of Don Diego Flores de Valdes, admiral of the Andaluſian ſquadron. The pretence, indeed, was very plauſible; and, but for an unforeſeen accident, they had certainly carried their point. The firſt land they fell in with was the Lizard, which they miſtook for the Ram's-head near Plymouth; and being toward night, ſtood off to ſea, till the next morning. In this ſpace of time they were deſcried by a Scots pirate, one Captain Fleming, who bore away immediately for Plymouth, and gave the lord admiral notice; which proved the utter ruin of their deſign, as well as the ſole cauſe of the preſervation of the Engliſh fleet.

The ſeaſon was ſo far advanced, and the Engliſh had ſo little intelligence of the Spaniard's departure, that their fleet was not only returned into port, but ſeveral of their ſhips alſo were already laid up, and their ſeamen diſcharged. The admiral, however, ſailed on the firſt notice, and though the wind blew hard into Plymouth Sound, got out to ſea, with great difficulty. The next day, being the 20th of July, they ſaw the Spaniſh navy drawn up in a half-moon, ſailing ſlowly through the channel, its wings being near ſeven miles aſunder. The admiral ſuffered them

to

to paſs by quietly, that, having the advantage of the wind, he might the better attack them in the rear; which he performed with equal courage and ſucceſs: and though Don Martinez de Ricalde, did all that it was poſſible for a brave officer to do, yet they were put into the utmoſt diſorder, and many of them received conſiderable damage. More had been done, but that a great part of the Engliſh fleet lay at too great a diſtance, ſo that the admiral was forced to wait for them.

The night following, a Dutch gunner, who had been ill treated by ſome Spaniſh officers, ſet fire to the ſhip on board which was their treaſure; nor was it without great difficulty, that the flames were extinguiſhed. The greateſt part of the money was put on board a galleon commanded by Don Pedro de Valdez, which ſoon after ſprung her foremaſt; and being thus diſabled, and the night very dark, fell into the hands of Sir Francis Drake. He ſent her captain to Dartmouth, and left the money on board to be plundered by his men. The next day was ſpent by the Spaniſh general in diſpoſing his fleet, iſſuing orders to his officers, and diſpatching an advice-boat to haſten the duke of Parma; by giving him an account of the great loſs he had already ſuffered, and the extream danger he was in. On the twenty-third they fought again, with variety of ſucceſs, which however demonſtrated to the Spaniards, that the mighty bulk of their ſhips was a diſadvantage to them, their ſhot flying over the heads of the Engliſh, while every bullet of theirs took place.

On the twenty-fourth, the Engliſh were able to do little for want of ammunition; but a ſupply arriving in the evening, the admiral made all neceſſary diſpoſitions for attacking the Spaniards in the midſt of the night; dividing his fleet into four ſquadrons, the firſt commanded by himſelf, the ſecond by Sir Francis Drake, the third by Admiral Hawkins, and the fourth by Captain Martin Frobiſher; but a dead calm prevented

vented the execution of his deſign. On the twenty-fifth, one of the Spaniſh ſhips was taken; and on the twenty-ſixth, the admiral reſolved to make no further attempts upon them, till they ſhould enter the ſtreights of Dover, where he knew Lord Henry Seymour, and Sir William Winter, waited for them with a freſh ſquadron. He alſo took this opportunity of knighting Lord Thomas Howard, Lord Sheffield, Roger Townſend, Admiral Hawkins, and Captain Frobiſher, for their gallant behaviour throughout the engagement.

The wind favouring the Spaniſh fleet, they continued their courſe up the channel, with the Engliſh ſhips cloſe in their rear. The ſtrength of the Spaniards had not only alarmed, but excited the courage of the whole nation; inſomuch, that every man of quality and fortune was ambitious of diſtinguiſhing himſelf, by appearing upon this occaſion, againſt the common enemy. With this public ſpirited view, the earls of Oxford, Northumberland, and Cumberland, Sir Thomas Cecil, Sir Robert Cecil, Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir Thomas Vavaſor, and many others, fitted out ſhips at their own expence, and went, moſt of them in perſon, to attend the admiral. Men of lower rank ſhewed their zeal and loyalty by ſending ammunition and proviſions; and ſo unanimous were all men againſt theſe foreigners, that even the papiſts, whom the Spaniards expected to have found in arms, were glad to wipe away the aſperſions which had been thrown upon them, by ſerving as common ſoldiers.

When, therefore, the Spaniſh fleet anchored on the twenty-ſeventh of July before Calais, the Engliſh admiral had with him near a hundred and forty ſhips, which enabled him to gall the enemy extreamly. But, perceiving on the twenty-eighth, that the Spaniards had ſo diſpoſed their larger ſhips, that it would be a very difficult matter to put them again into diſorder, he reſolved to practiſe an expedient long before in contemplation in caſe the enemy ſhould have

come up the river Thames; which was converting ſome of their worſt veſſels into fire-ſhips. This method he accordingly purſued, filling eight large barks with all ſorts of combuſtible matter, and ſending them under the command of the Captains Young and Prowſe, about midnight, into the thickeſt part of the Spaniſh fleet, where they ſpeedily began to blaze; and, as the admiral had foreſeen, obliged the navy to ſeparate, and each ſhip, by ſteering a different courſe, to ſeek its own ſafety. This is the firſt account we meet with of fire-ſhips being uſed in ſea-engagements.

The next day a large galeaſs ran aſhore on the ſands of Calais, where ſhe was plundered by the Engliſh. Deſirous, however, of attempting ſomewhat, the Spaniards again rendezvouſed near Graveling; where they waited ſome time, in hopes the prince of Parma would have come out: but in this they were diſappointed, whether through the want of power, or of will, in that great general, is uncertain. At laſt, finding themſelves hard preſſed by the Engliſh fleet, which continued to make a terrible fire upon them, they made a bold attempt, to have retreated through the ſtreights of Dover: but the wind, coming about with hard gales at north-weſt, drove them on the coaſt of Zealand; but ſoon after ſteering to the ſouth-weſt, they tacked and got out of danger. The duke de Medina Sidonia took this opportunity of calling a council of war; wherein, after mature deliberation, it was reſolved, that there were now no hopes left of ſucceeding, and therefore, the moſt prudent thing they could do, was to drop their deſign and to ſave as many ſhips as poſſible.

This reſolution being once fixed, was immediately carried into execution, and the whole Spaniſh navy made all the ſail they could for their own coaſt, going north about, which expoſed them to variety of unforeſeen dangers. The Engliſh admiral very prudently ſent Lord Henry Seymour with a ſtrong ſquadron

dron to cruize on the coaſt of Zealand, to prevent any danger from their joining with the prince of Parma, and afterward left them to purſue their courſe. When the Spaniſh fleet arrived on the Scots coaſt, and found that care was every where taken they ſhould meet with no ſupply, they threw their horſes and mules overboard; and ſuch of them as had a proper ſtore of water, bore away directly for the bay of Biſcay, with the duke of Medina Sidonia, making in all about twenty-five ſhips. The reſt, about forty ſail, under the command of the vice-admiral, ſtood over for the coaſt of Ireland, intending to have watered at Cape Clare. On the ſecond of September, however, a tempeſt aroſe, and drove moſt of them aſhore, ſo that upward of thirty ſhips, and many thouſand men, periſhed on the Iriſh coaſt.

Some likewiſe were forced a ſecond time into the Engliſh channel, where they were taken, ſome by the Engliſh, and ſome by the Rochellers. Several very large veſſels were loſt among the weſtern iſles, and upon the coaſt of Argyleſhire. Out of theſe, about five hundred perſons were ſaved; who came into Edinburgh, in a manner naked; and, out of mere charity, were cloathed by the inhabitants of that city; who alſo attempted to ſend them home to Spain. But, as if misfortunes were always to attend them, they were forced in their paſſage upon the coaſt of Norfolk, and obliged to put into Yarmouth; where they ſtayed, till advice was given to the queen and council: who conſidering the miſeries they had already felt, and not willing to appear leſs compaſſionate than the Scots, ſuffered them to continue their voyage.

Thus, in the ſhort ſpace of a month, this mighty fleet, which had been no leſs than three years preparing, was deſtroyed and brought to nothing. Of one hundred and thirty ſhips, there returned but fifty-three or four; and of the people embarked there periſhed twenty thouſand men at leaſt. We may beſt

form an idea of their loſs, from the precaution taken by King Philip to hide it, which was publiſhing a proclamation to prohibit mourning. As to the courage and conſtancy he expreſſed upon this occaſion, it is certain, that the lord treaſurer Burleigh received intelligence "That the king ſhould ſay, after maſs, "that he would ſpend the wealth of Spain, to one of "thoſe candleſticks upon the altar, rather than not "revenge himſelf upon the Engliſh." His future conduct agreed ſo exactly with this threatning, that we may well conclude, if he did not ſay, he thought ſo, and was therefore far from being ſo unmoved at this diſaſter as is commonly reported. What might in ſome meaſure juſtify his reſentment, was, the falling out of this miſchief, through the breach of his orders, which is well remarked by a writer of our own: for, if the king's inſtructions had been purſued, it is more than probable, that Queen Elizabeth's government had run the utmoſt hazard of being overturned.

The duke of Medina Sidonia eſcaped puniſhment, through the intereſt of his wife; but as for Don Diego Flores de Valdez, whoſe perſuaſions induced the general to take that raſh ſtep, he was arreſted as ſoon as he ſet foot on ſhore, and conducted to the caſtle of St. Andero; after which, he was never heard of more. The ſame writer, from whom we have this particular, remarks alſo an error in the conduct of the Engliſh; viz. that they did not attack the Spaniſh fleet after it arrived before Graveling; which, however, he aſſures us, was not through any fault in the admiral, but was occaſioned through the negligence of ſome under-officers, who had the direction of the military ſtores, and had been too ſparing of powder and ammunition. Otherwiſe, he tells us, it was thought, the duke de Medina Sidonia, at the perſuaſion of his confeſſor, would have yielded both himſelf and his ſhips, which, it ſeems, were, in that particular, not at all better provided. This would have

have been a conqueſt indeed, a conqueſt equally glorious and important, the loſs of which, ought to teach poſterity, not to be too haſty in cenſuring great officers, or too remiſs in puniſhing little ones.

The queen having intelligence that the Spaniards meditated a ſecond attempt upon her dominions, reſolved, like a wiſe princeſs, to find them work at home; in order to which, in the ſpring of the year 1589, ſhe expreſſed her royal intention of aſſiſting Don Antonio to recover his kingdom of Portugal. The expedition was undertaken partly at the queen's charge, and partly at the expence of private perſons. Sir Francis Drake, and Sir John Norris, were joint commanders; and the whole navy conſiſted of 146 ſail. To which alſo the Dutch, as much intereſted as we, joined a ſmall ſquadron.

This armament landed near Corunna, commonly called the Groyne, which place they attacked, burnt the adjacent country, together with many magazines of naval ſtores: they then reimbarked their forces, and ſailed, as they had at firſt deſigned, for the river of Liſbon. On their arrival before Peniche, the troops were landed; the place quickly ſurrendered to Don Antonio; and from thence the whole army marched by land toward Liſbon; where they expected to have met the fleet under the command of Sir Francis Drake: but he finding it impoſſible to proceed up the river with ſafety to her majeſty's ſhips, ſtaid at the caſtle of Caſcais, which place he took, and alſo ſeized ſixty ſail of ſhips belonging to the Hanſe-Towns, laden with corn and ammunition; which, with about 150 pieces of cannon, were the principal fruits of this voyage. It was indeed, intended, to have gone to the Canaries; but by this time the ſoldiers and ſailors were ſo weakened with ſickneſs, that it was thought more expedient to return. In their paſſage home they landed at Vigo, took and plundered it; and having made ſome addition to their booty, reached England; after having been about ten weeks abroad.

This expedition was inexpreſſibly deſtructive to the Spaniards, diſappointed all their deſigns, weakened their naval force, and ſpread a mighty terror of the Engliſh arms through their whole dominions. But as to any advantages which the proprietors reaped, they were but very inconſiderable; and the generals met with a cold reception in England. The chief grounds of their miſcarriage were in thoſe days, when men could beſt judge, held to be theſe. Firſt, They were but indifferently manned and victualled. Secondly, Their landing at the Groyne was contrary to their inſtructions; gave the men an opportunity of drinking new wines, and expoſed them to a great and unneceſſary loſs. Thirdly, The diſagreement of the generals before Liſbon, defeated the remaining part of their deſign; whereas, if in purſuance of their inſtructions, they had ſailed directly to the coaſts of Portugal, and landed their forces there, it is more than probable, they had effectually placed Don Antonio upon the throne of Portugal, which would have given a deadly ſtroke to the power of Spain.

The diſappointments which happened in this voyage, did not diſcourage either the queen or her ſubjects from purſuing the war by ſea. In order to this, her majeſty ſettled a part of her revenue for the ordinary ſupply of the navy, amounting to about nine thouſand pounds a year: and by expreſſing a very high eſteem for ſuch young lords, and other perſons of diſtinction, as had ſhewn an inclination to the ſea-ſervice, ſhe encouraged others to undertake yet greater things. Amongſt theſe, the earl of Cumberland particularly diſtinguiſhed himſelf by fitting out a ſtout ſquadron, in the ſummer of the year 1589, with which he ſailed to the Tercera iſlands, where he did the Spaniards incredible miſchief, and obtained conſiderable advantages for himſelf, and for his friends.

In 1590, Sir John Hawkins and Sir Martin Frobiſher were at ſea with two ſquadrons; and by impeding the return of the Spaniſh plate-fleets from America,

America, and other ſervices, kept King Philip entirely employed at home, though his thoughts were ſtill buſy in contriving another expedition againſt England. The ſucceeding year, Lord Thomas Howard, ſecond ſon to the duke of Norfolk, ſailed with a ſquadron to the iſlands, in hopes of intercepting the Spaniſh fleet from the Weſt Indies, which now was forced to return home. In this he had probably ſucceeded, if his force had been greater; but having no more than ſeven of the queen's ſhips, and about as many fitted out by private adventurers, he very narrowly eſcaped being totally deſtroyed by the Spaniards.

In 1591, the earl of Cumberland made another expedition: and in 1592, Sir Martin Frobiſher, and Sir John Boroughs, infeſted the Spaniſh coaſt, and did much miſchief. In 1594, the queen ſent a ſmall ſquadron to ſea, under the command of Sir Martin Frobiſher, to reduce the port of Breſt in Bretagne, which the king of Spain had taken, by the aſſiſtance of the Leaguers in France, from King Henry IV. A place that if it had been long kept, muſt have been very troubleſome to that monarch, and would have given the Spaniards great advantages againſt us. It was ſtrong, as well by ſituation, as by the art and expence employed in fortifying it; and had, beſide, a numerous garriſon of Spaniſh troops. Sir John Norris, with a ſmall Engliſh army, formed the ſiege by land; Sir Martin Frobiſher, with only four men of war, forced an entrance into the harbour; and having thus blocked up the place by ſea, landed his ſailors, and in conjunction with Sir John Norris, ſtormed the fort; which, though gallantly defended, was taken; with the loſs of abundance of brave men; and amongſt them, may be reckoned Sir Martin himſelf, who died in the wounds he received in that ſervice. The ſame year Sir Francis Drake, and Sir John Hawkins ſailed on their laſt expedition into the Weſt Indies.

The Spaniards, who ſeldom abandon any deſign they once undertake, were all this time employed in aſſembling and equipping another fleet for England; and as an earneſt of their intentions, in the year 1595, Don Diego Brochero, with four gallies, arrived in Mount's-Bay, in Cornwall, and landing with all his men, burnt three little places; but without killing or taking ſo much as a ſingle man. This, however, alarmed the nation, and engaged the queen to undertake an invaſion of the Spaniſh dominions, to prevent any ſuch future viſits to her own; in order to which, a ſtout fleet and a numerous army were provided, under the moſt experienced officers of thoſe times.

The true deſign of this expedition, was, to deſtroy the Spaniſh fleet in the port of Cadiz, and to make themſelves maſters of that rich city. The force employed was very great, not leſs in all than 150 ſail; of which, 126 were men of war; but of theſe, only ſeventeen were the queen's ſhips, the reſt were hired from traders and fitted for this voyage. On board this mighty fleet, were embarked upward of 7000 men. The joint commanders of the expedition were, the earl of Eſſex, and the lord high-admiral (Howard) aſſiſted by a council of war. There was beſide, a Dutch ſquadron, under the command of Admiral Van Duvenvoord, conſiſting of twenty-four ſhips, well manned and victualled. This navy lay for ſome time at Plymouth, till all things could be got ready; and then, on the firſt of June 1596, ſailed for the coaſt of Spain with a fair wind, and the good wiſhes of all their countrymen.

They were ſo happy as to arrive in ſight of Cadiz on the twentieth of the ſame month, before they were either looked for, or ſo much as apprehended. They found the town indifferently well fortified, and defended by a ſtrong caſtle. In the port were fifty-nine Spaniſh ſhips; amongſt them, many laden with treaſure, and nineteen or twenty gallies. Some time was loſt before their coming to a reſolution how to act, owing

owing to the joint command: for the earl of Eſſex, who was young and warm, affected to dictate; while the admiral, who had as much courage, and more experience, could not brook being controuled. At laſt, it was determined to attack the ſhips in the haven, before any attempt was made upon the town; whereupon a new difficulty aroſe, which was, who ſhould command this attack. In the execution, ſome errors were committed, through the too great heat and emulation of the commanders; but others much more groſs and fatal by the Spaniards; who, when they found themſelves compelled to fly, did it without any of thoſe precautions whereby they might have provided for their ſafety: for inſtead of running their ſhips aſhore under the town, where they would have been covered by their own artillery, and where at leaſt their men might have gone aſhore in ſafety, they ran them up the bay, as far from the enemy as poſſible; by which means, part fell into the hands of the Engliſh, and the reſt were burnt.

In the mean time, the earl of Eſſex landed his men quietly, the enemy deſerting a ſtrong fort, from which they might have done him much miſchief: three regiments alſo were ſent to make themſelves maſters of the cauſeway which unites the iſland to the main. This they performed with very ſmall loſs; but afterward quitted it again, which gave the gallies an opportunity of eſcaping; another overſight, for which no account can be given. The lord admiral, hearing the earl was landed, landed alſo with the remainder of the forces, doubting much whether his lordſhip could have kept the place: and while the two generals were employed in reducing the city, Sir Walter Raleigh was ſent to ſeize the ſhips in the harbour of Port-Real; to prevent which, the duke of Medina Sidonia cauſed them to be ſet on fire, and burnt, whereby twenty millions were buried in the ſea. The city and its forts they poſſeſſed for a fortnight; and the earl of Eſſex was very deſirous of being

ing left there with a garriſon, however ſmall; which was, notwithſtanding, over-ruled by the council of war. It was then agreed to ſail to Faro, in the kingdom of Algarve, where they found the place deſerted by its inhabitants, and void of any thing that could be made plunder. To repair this diſappointment, the earl of Eſſex was for ſailing to the Azores, there to wait for the Eaſt India ſhips; but in this too he was over-ruled, becauſe there was a great complaint of the want of proviſion and ammunition on board the fleet. In their return, they looked into the ports of Groyne, St. Andero, and St. Sebaſtian, where they expected to find ſhips, but met with none; and after this, nothing remarkable happened till their arrival in England, which was on the eighth of Auguſt the ſame year. They brought with them two galleons, one hundred braſs guns, and an immenſe booty; the deſire of keeping which, is conceived to have hindered them from performing more.

In the ſpring of the year 1597, the king of Spain fitted out a freſh armada from Liſbon, compoſed not only of his own ſhips and gallies, but alſo of all that he could take up, and hire in Italy, or elſewhere. On board of theſe, he embarked a great body of troops, eſpecially of the Iriſh, intending to have invaded both England and Ireland; but the winds diſappointed him, ſcattered his fleet, and thirty-ſix ſail were caſt away. In the mean time the queen fitted out another fleet of 40 men of war under the command of the earl of Eſſex, with an intent to intercept the plate-fleet near the Azores, after burning ſuch veſſels as were in the harbours of the Groyne and Ferrol. They ſailed from Plymouth the 9th of July; but a ſtorm ariſing, they were forced back thither again, and did not ſail the ſecond time till the 7th of Auguſt. They uſed their beſt endeavours to perform the firſt part of their inſtructions, but finding it impracticable, they thought it expedient to ſteer for the iſlands. In this voyage Sir Walter Raleigh's

ſhip ſprung her maſt, which, however, did not hinder him, when he had repaired his loſs, from proceeding to the place of rendezvous. He had ſcarce begun to wood and water there, before the earl of Eſſex ſent him orders to follow him to Fayal, which iſland the general himſelf intended to attempt. Raleigh obeyed him; but not finding Eſſex on his arrival, and perceiving that the people were ſecuring their goods, throwing up retrenchments, and making every other preparation neceſſary for their defence, he with the advice of his officers reſolved, in caſe Eſſex did not arrive in four days, to attempt the reduction of the iſland, which accordingly he performed: but though he got reputation by this exploit, yet he loſt the general's friendſhip, ſo that a coldneſs thenceforth prevailed, which afterward encreaſed to open oppoſition and the moſt rancorous hatred.

After Eſſex's arrival they ſailed together to Gracioſa, which immediately ſubmitted. Here the general intended to have ſtaid; and if he had done ſo, undoubtedly it had anſwered his purpoſe, and he had taken the whole Spaniſh fleet: but being too eaſily brought to alter his purpoſes, he took another method, which gave the Spaniards, who arrived the next day, an opportunity of proceeding for Tercera, with the loſs of no more than three ſhips, which were taken by Sir William Monſon. The reſt of the fleet, conſiſting of about thirty-ſeven ſail, arrived ſafely in the port of Angra, which was well defended by ſeveral forts; ſo that on mature deliberation, it was judged impracticable to attempt any thing there with reaſonable hopes of ſucceſs.

The earl of Eſſex, vexed at this diſappointment, reſolved to do ſomewhat of conſequence before he returned; and therefore landing, ſurpriſed the town of Villa Franca and plundered it: after which he reimbarked his forces, and prepared for his return home. In his paſſage he had the good luck to take a very rich Spaniſh ſhip, which fell into his fleet, miſtaking

miſtaking it for their own. In the mean time, the Spaniards were meditating great deſigns. The abſence of the Engliſh fleet gave them an opportunity of ſending out their ſquadrons from the Groyne and Ferrol. With theſe they intended to have made a deſcent in Cornwall, and to have poſſeſſed themſelves of the port of Falmouth. The Spaniſh admiral proceeded to the iſlands of Scilly, almoſt within ſight of our ſhore: but it ſo happened, that a very high ſtorm aroſe, which entirely ſeparated their fleet. In this ſtorm eighteen capital ſhips were loſt, ſeveral forced into Engliſh ports were taken, and the Spaniſh admiral's ſchemes thereby entirely diſconcerted. Nor did our fleet eſcape the fury of this tempeſt; but with much difficulty reached the weſtern coaſt in the latter end of the month of October.

In 1598, the earl of Cumberland fitted out a ſquadron of eleven ſail at his own expence; with which he firſt attempted to intercept the Liſbon fleet in its paſſage to the Eaſt Indies. Being diſappointed in that, he ſailed to the Canaries, where he made a deſcent on the iſland of Lancerota, plundered it, and then proceeded to America, where he promiſed himſelf great things. The place he fixed upon was the iſland of Puerto Rico, where he landed, and took the capital with ſmall loſs. This city he determined to keep, with an intent to have cruiſed from thence upon the Spaniſh coaſts; but he was quickly convinced that the deſign was impracticable, diſeaſes ſpreading amongſt his ſoldiers and ſeamen to ſuch a degree, that he was obliged to abandon his conqueſt.

In 1599, there was a great fleet fitted out by the queen's command: but it ſeems rather with an intent to watch the Spaniards, than to undertake any other enterprize of importance; ſince after remaining about three weeks in the Downs, it was again laid up. Yet the equipping this fleet had a great effect upon Spain, and all the powers of Europe; for it was drawn together in twelve days time, well victualled, and throughly

throughly manned, which ſhewed the ſtrength of our maritime power, and how much it was improved ſince 1588. The next year, being 1600, Sir Richard Leviſon was ſent to intercept the plate-fleet; which deſign, though it was well contrived and wiſely executed, yet failed. In 1601, the ſame admiral was employed in Ireland, where he did good ſervice, in obliging the Spaniards, who had landed a conſiderable body of forces, to relinquiſh their deſign, and withdraw out of that iſland.

In 1602, the ſame admiral, in conjunction with Sir William Monſon, was employed in an expedition for intercepting the galleons, which had infallibly taken effect, if the Dutch had ſent their ſquadron, agreeable to their engagements with the queen. Notwithſtanding this diſappointment, they continued on the coaſt of Portugal, and at length reſolved to attack a galleon which lay with eleven gallies in the road of Cerimbra; which was one of the moſt gallant exploits performed in the whole war. The town of Cerimbra was large and well built with free-ſtone, defended by a good citadel well furniſhed with artillery. Above the town, on the top of a mountain, ſtood the abbey, ſo fortified as to command the place, the citadel, and the road. The galleon was moored cloſe to the ſhore, ſo as to defend by its fire, part of the citadel and part of the town: the gallies had ſo flanked and fortified themſelves, that they were able to make a great fire upon the Engliſh fleet, without receiving any damage themſelves, till ſuch time as our ſhips were juſt before the town. Yet, in ſpite of theſe and many other diſadvantages, the Engliſh admirals reſolved to attack them; which they did on the 3d of June. A gale of wind blowing freſh about two in the morning, the admiral weighed, and made the ſignal for an attack. The vice-admiral did the like, and ſoon after they fell upon the enemy with great fury; and though the Spaniards defended themſelves with much reſolution, yet in the end ſeveral

of

of the gallies were burnt, the garriſon driven from the caſtle, and the rich galleon, for which all this ſtruggle was made, taken, with about a million of pieces of eight on board. Frederic Spinola, in the St. Lewis, ſailed from Cerimbra, with the reſt of the gallies that had eſcaped, viz. The St. John Baptiſt, the Lucera, the Padilla, the Philip, and the St. John, for the coaſt of Flanders; and on the 23d of September entered the Britiſh channel. Here they fell in with ſome Engliſh and Dutch ſhips; by whom three of them were ſunk: the reſt with great difficulty reached Dunkirk in ſafety.

This was the laſt great exploit performed by ſea in this reign; for the queen, now far in years, and worn out with the cares and fatigues of government, died on the 24th of March following, in the forty-fifth year of her reign, and in the ſeventieth of her life: when ſhe had ſettled the proteſtant religion throughout her kingdom, had reſtored the crown to its ancient reputation, ſupported her allies with the greateſt firmneſs, and humbled her enemies, ſo as to compel them to think of ſoliciting for peace.

Her attention to trade appears in many inſtances, of ſome of which it may not be amiſs to treat more particularly. The merchants of the Hanſe-towns complained loudly in the beginning of her reign, of the ill-treatment they had received in the days of Edward and queen Mary; to which ſhe very prudently anſwered, "That as ſhe would not innovate any "thing, ſo ſhe would protect them ſtill in the im- "munities and condition ſhe found them:" which not contenting them, their commerce was ſoon after ſuſpended for a time, to the great advantage of the Engliſh merchants. At laſt the Hanſe-towns prevailed ſo far in virtue of their German connections as to gain an imperial edict, whereby the Engliſh merchants were prohibited all commerce in the empire; this was anſwered by a proclamation, in conſequence of which, ſixty ſail of their ſhips were taken in the river of Lisbon, laden with contraband goods for the

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uſe of the Spaniards. Theſe ſhips the queen intended to have reſtored, as ſincerely deſiring to have compromiſed all differences with thoſe trading cities: but when ſhe was informed that a general aſſembly was held at the city of Lubeck, in order to concert meaſures for diſtreſſing the Engliſh trade, ſhe cauſed the ſhips and their cargoes to be confiſcated; only two of them were releaſed to carry home this news, and that the queen had the greateſt contempt imaginable for all their proceedings.

After this, Sigiſmond king of Poland interpoſed in their behalf, ſending hither an ambaſſador, who talking in a very high ſtile; the queen, in her anſwers told him plainly, that the king his maſter made no right eſtimate of his own power, and that himſelf was very little fit for the employment in which ſhe found him. Thus were we ridded for ever of theſe incorporated foreign factors, and our own merchants eſtabliſhed in the right of managing our commerce. In the latter end of her reign, ſome diſputes happening with the king of Denmark, and he moſt unadviſedly ſeizing the Engliſh ſhips that were in his ports, the queen ſent one Dr. Parkins to demand immediate and adequate ſatisfaction: which he did in ſo peremptory a ſtile, that the Dane was glad to compound the matter for forty thouſand dollars, which he paid her majeſty, and which ſhe cauſed to be proportionably divided among the merchants who were injured.

Theſe are inſtances of her noble ſpirit in obtaining redreſs of grievances in foreign countries, even in the moſt perillous times, and when her affairs were in the utmoſt embarraſſment. As to her care of trade and navigation within her own dominions, we have already mentioned many particulars; however, it may not be amiſs to obſerve, that in 1563, an act was made for the better regulation, maintenance, and increaſe of the navy; and in 1566, there was a law to enable the maſter, wardens, and the aſſiſtants of the Trinity-houſe, to ſet up beacons and ſea-marks. The ſame year there paſſed an act for incorporating, and more

more effectually eſtabliſhing the company of merchant adventurers. In 1581, there likewiſe paſſed an act for the increaſe of mariners, and for the maintenance of navigation, and more eſpecially for recovering the trade to Iceland, which began then to decay, and in which there had been employed annually upward of two hundred ſail of ſtout ſhips. In 1585, the queen erected by her letters patent, a new company for the management of the trade to Barbary; and in the year 1600, ſhe incorporated a ſociety of merchants trading to the Eaſt Indies, whence the preſent Eaſt India company is derived *.

Beſide theſe numerous marks of her royal favour, and the ſtrict attention to the commerce of her ſubjects, the queen afforded others continually, by ſending envoys and agents to the Czar, to the Shah of Perſia, to ſeveral great princes in the Eaſt Indies: and in ſhort, wherever her interpoſition could be of any uſe to open, to promote, or to recover any branch of traffic; as appears by all the hiſtories that are extant of her reign. It may be ſaid, and which is more, may be ſaid with truth and juſtice, that in the midſt of theſe great things done for induſtry and trade, the prerogative was carried very high: many monopolies erected, and ſeveral excluſive privileges granted, which have been found injurious to trade. But the diſcuſſing theſe points belong to general hiſtory.

This diſpoſition of the queen, excited a like ſpirit throughout the whole nation. Not only perſons bred to trade, and ſome of the middle gentry of the kingdom, launched out into expeditions for diſcoveries, and planting new-found countries; but even perſons of the firſt diſtinction, became encouragers and adventurers in thoſe deſigns: ſuch as the lord-treaſurer Burleigh, the earl of Warwick, the earl of Leiceſter, &c. and ſome of them actually engaged in the exe-

* See the firſt voyage on account of the Engliſh Eaſt India company, under Sir James Lancaſter; in the ſecond volume of this Collection.

cution of ſuch projects, amongſt whom were the earls of Cumberland, Eſſex, and Southampton, Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir Richard Grenville, Sir Humphry Gilbert, Sir Robert Dudley, &c. And therefore we need not wonder at the ſurpriſing increaſe of our maritime power, or the number of remarkable undertakings of this ſort, within ſo ſhort a period of time. Let us mention only a few. In 1575, Sir Humphry Gilbert attempted the diſcovery of a north-weſt paſſage; in 1577, Sir Martin Frobiſher ſought one the ſame way; Pet and Jackman ſailed on a like deſign in 1580, by the direction of the governor and company of merchant-adventurers: an expedition was undertaken at a great expence by Sir Humphry Gilbert, in order to ſettle Florida; nor did it miſcarry through any error of the undertaker. The great Sir Walter Raleigh would have ſettled Virginia in 1584, if prudence, induſtry, and public ſpirit could have effected it; but though he failed in the extent, yet he was not totally defeated in his hopes, ſince he laid the foundation of that ſettlement, which hath ſince ſo happily ſucceeded.

It may in this place contribute not a little to our ſatisfaction, if we enquire what quantity of coin, both gold and ſilver, there might be in the nation, toward the cloſe of her reign; that is, at the beginning of the laſt century, becauſe it is of very great conſequence to have a juſt notion of what was the nation's ſtock in ready money at that period, when our great foreign commerce began. We have indeed an authentic account of her entire coinage in ſilver, amounting to above four millions and a half; but then if we conſider that ſhe recoined almoſt all the ſilver ſpecie of the kingdom, and that there was a ſmall alteration in the ſtandard in the latter end of her reign, which raiſed ſilver from five ſhillings, to five and two-pence an ounce, which occaſioned a new fabrication; ſo that much of the former coin came into the mint again as bullion: we may, with the judicious Dr. Davenant, eſtimate

the ſilver coin at that time in this kingdom, at two millions and a half; to which, if we add the gold of her own and her predeceſſors coin, and eſtimate this at a million and a half, we may be pretty ſure that we are not much wide of the truth; and that one hundred and fifty years ago, the current coin of England amounted in the whole, to four millions or thereabout.

King James, at his acceſſion to the Engliſh throne, was about thirty-ſix years of age; and, if he had been a private perſon, would not have rendered himſelf very remarkable either by his virtues or his vices. The greateſt of his failings were timidity, diſſimulation, and a high opinion of his own wiſdom: theſe, however, were more excuſable than modern writers are willing to allow, if we conſider the accident that happened to his mother before his birth, the ſtrange treatment he met with in Scotland, from the ſeveral factions prevailing in that kingdom during his junior years, and the exceſſive flatteries that were heaped on him after he came hither, by all ranks of people. It was impoſſible for him to have made himſelf much acquainted with maritime affairs while he continued in Scotland, yet it does not at all appear, that he was negligent of naval concerns, after he was ſeated on the Engliſh throne; unleſs his haſty concluſion of a peace with Spain ſhould be thought liable to the like cenſure.

The acceſſion of king James gave a fair opportunity to the houſe of Auſtria, to make an end of the long quarrel which had ſubſiſted with England; becauſe, during all that time, they had been in peace and amity with king James as king of Scots. Immediately on his arrival at London, the arch-duke ſent over a miniſter to the Engliſh court, and in conſequence of his negotiations, a peace was ſoon after concluded with Spain. Some of the writers of thoſe times tell us, that it was chiefly brought about by the large bribes given to all the king's miniſters and favourites,

vourites. It ſeems, however, more reaſonable to conclude, that this peace was in reality the effect of the king's inclination, ſupported by the advice of his moſt eminent ſtateſmen; ſome of whom were known to have been for this meaſure in the queen's time. There were two treaties, one of peace and alliance, the other of commerce, both ſigned at London, the 18th of Auguſt, 1604; the conſtable of Caſtile, the greateſt ſubject in Spain, being ſent for that purpoſe. All the trading part of the nation were very well pleaſed with this proceeding, and would have been much more ſo, if the king had not taken a very ſtrange ſtep upon its concluſion. He erected a company of merchants, who were to carry on the Spaniſh commerce excluſively, which gave both an univerſal and very juſt offence; for as the whole nation had borne the expence of the war, and trade in general had ſuffered thereby, it was but reaſonable, that the benefits of peace ſhould be as diffuſive. This evil, however, was of no long continuance. But if this treaty gave ſome diſſatisfaction at home, it raiſed no leſs diſcontent abroad. The Hollanders, who were left to ſhift for themſelves, and who had reaped ſo great advantages from the favour of queen Elizabeth, were exceedingly exaſperated at a ſtep ſo much to their immediate diſadvantage. But as they found themſelves ſtill ſtrong enough, not only to cope with the Spaniards, but alſo to make a greater figure than moſt other nations at ſea; they loſt that reſpect which was due to the Engliſh flag, and began to aſſume to themſelves a kind of equality even in the narrow ſeas. This was quickly repreſented to the king as an indignity not to be borne; and thereupon he directed a fleet to be fitted out, the command of which was given to Sir William Monſon, with inſtructions to maintain the honour of the Engliſh flag, and that ſuperiority which was derived to him from his anceſtors in the Britiſh ſeas. This fleet put to ſea in the ſpring of 1604, and was continued annually under the ſame

admiral, who appears to have been a man of great ſpirit and much experience; for, as he tells us in his own memoirs, he ſerved in the firſt ſhip of war fitted out in the reign of queen Elizabeth, and was an admiral in the laſt fleet ſhe ever ſent to ſea. Yet he found it a very difficult matter to execute his commiſſion; the Dutch, whenever he conferred with any of their chief officers, gave him fine language, and fair promiſes: but they minded them very little, taking our ſhips on very frivolous pretences, and treating thoſe they found on board them with great ſeverity, till ſuch time as it appeared the admiral would not bear ſuch uſage, and began to make repriſals, threatening to hang, as pirates, people who ſhewed themſelves very little better in their actions. There were alſo high conteſts about the flag, which began through ſome accidental civilities ſhewn to the Hollanders, in the late reign, when they ſailed under the command of Engliſh admirals, upon joint expeditions, and were on that account treated as if they had been her majeſty's own ſubjects; which favours they now pretended to claim as prerogatives due to them in quality of an independent ſtate.

Theſe diſputes continued for many years; and though, through the vigilance of admiral Monſon, the Dutch were defeated in all their pretenſions, and the prerogatives of the Britiſh ſovereignty at ſea were thoroughly maintained; yet the republic of Holland ſtill kept up a ſpirit of reſentment, which broke out in ſuch acts of violence, as would not have been paſt by in the days of queen Elizabeth. Nevertheleſs our admiral does not ſeem to charge the king, or his miniſtry in general, with want of inclination to do themſelves juſtice; but lays it expreſly at the door of ſecretary Cecil, afterward earl of Saliſbury; who thought it, ſays he, good policy, to paſs by ſuch kind of offences: but he does not report any reaſons upon which that kind of policy was grounded. However it did not abſolutely or conſtantly prevail, even in the councils

cils of king James; for upon ſome ſurmiſes that foreigners took unreaſonable liberties in fiſhing in our ſeas, a proclamation was publiſhed in the year 1608, aſſerting the king's ſovereignty in that point, and prohibiting all foreign nations to fiſh on the Britiſh coaſt. This, though general in appearance, had yet a more particular relation to the Dutch, who found themſelves greatly affected thereby, eſpecially when the king appointed commiſſioners at London, for granting licences to ſuch foreigners as would fiſh on the Engliſh coaſt; and at Edinburgh, for granting licences of the like nature to ſuch as would fiſh in the northern ſea. To theſe regulations, though with great reluctance, they ſubmitted for the preſent; the reaſon of which ſeems to be, their having affairs of great moment to manage with the court of Great Britain. In theſe important concerns, notwithſtanding all that had paſſed, they ſucceeded; and two treaties were concluded on the 26th of June, 1608, between the crown of Great Britain and the States-General: the one of peace and alliance, the other for ſtating and ſettling the debt due to king James. One would have imagined, that the advantages obtained by theſe treaties, ſhould have brought the republic to a better temper, in reſpect to other matters; but they did not: for within a ſhort time after, they diſputed paying the aſſize-herring in Scotland, and the licence-money in England; and to protect their ſubjects from the penalties which might attend ſuch a refuſal, they ſent ſhips of force to eſcort their herring-buſſes. Theſe facts, as they are inconteſtable, are related, though without the leaſt prejudice againſt the Dutch; who are a people certainly to be commended for all inſtances of public ſpirit, when they are not inconſiſtent with the rights of their neighbours, and the law of nations.

But at this time of day, miniſters were too much afraid of parliaments to run the hazard of loſing any of the nation's rights, for want of inſiſting upon

them; and therefore they prevailed upon the king to republiſh his proclamation, that a parliament, whenever they met, might ſee they had done their duty, and adviſe the king thereupon as they ſhould think fit.

There were alſo ſome ſtruggles in this reign with the French, about the ſame rights of fiſhery, and the ſovereignty of the ſea; in which, through the vigorous meaſures taken by Sir William Monſon, the nation prevailed, and the French were obliged to deſiſt from their practices of diſturbing our fiſhermen, and otherwiſe injuring our navigation. In 1614, the ſame admiral was ſent to ſcour the Scotch and Iriſh ſeas, which were much infeſted with pirates. The noiſe, however, of their depredations far exceeded the damage; for when, on the firſt of June, Sir William Monſon made the coaſt of Cathneſs, the moſt northern part of Scotland, he found that, inſtead of twenty pirates, of whom he expected to have intelligence in thoſe parts, there were in fact but two; one of whom immediately ſurrendered, and the other was afterward taken by the admiral on the coaſt of Ireland: where, by a proper mixture of clemency and ſeverity, he extirpated theſe rovers, and reclaimed the inhabitants of the ſea-coaſt from affording ſhelter and protection to pirates, furniſhing them with proviſions, and taking their plunder in exchange.

In 1617, Sir Walter Raleigh was releaſed from his impriſonment in the Tower, and had a commiſſion from the king, to diſcover and take poſſeſſion of any countries in the ſouth of America, which were inhabited by heathen nations, for the enlargement of commerce, and the propagation of religion; in the undertaking which expedition, his expences were borne by himſelf, his friends, and ſuch merchants as entertained a good opinion of the voyage. His deſign has been variouſly repreſented; but it is ſufficiently evident, that the complaints of the Spaniſh miniſter, don Diego Sarmiento d'Acuna, ſo well known afterward

ward by the title of Count Gondemar, were not ſo much grounded on any notions of the injuſtice of this deſign, as on a piece of Spaniſh policy, by raiſing a clamour on falſe pretences, to diſcover the true ſcope and intent of Sir Walter's voyage. In this he was but too ſucceſsful; for upon his repreſentations, that excellent perſon was obliged to give a diſtinct account, as well of his preparations for executing, as of the deſign he was to execute: and this (by what means is not clear) was communicated to the Spaniards, who thereby gained an opportunity, firſt of diſappointing him in America, and then of taking off his head upon his return, to the laſting diſhonour of this reign, as well as the great detriment of the nation: for, without all doubt, this project of Sir Walter Raleigh's, for ſettling in Guiana, was not only well contrived, but well founded; and, if it had been followed, might have been as beneficial to Britain, as Brazil is to Portugal.

The diſputes with the ſtates of Holland, in reference to the right of fiſhing, broke out again, in the year 1618, from the old cauſes; which were plainly a very high preſumption of their own maritime force, and an opinion they had entertained, of the king's being much addicted to peace. Mr. Camden, in his annals of the reign of this prince, ſays, that the deputies of the ſtates, at their audience of the king, on the 31ſt of December, 1618, intreated that nothing might be done in reſpect to the herring-fiſhing; as it was the great ſupport of their commonwealth, and the only ſuccour and relief of the common people, in regard to the troubles then amongſt them.

King James however aſſerted his rights through the courſe of this negotiation, and brought the ſtates themſelves to acknowledge, that theſe rights had a juſt foundation. If it ſhould be enquired how it came to paſs, that after carrying things ſo far, and to ſuch a ſeeming height, they ſhould fall again into ſilence and oblivion; the beſt anſwer that can be given to

this queſtion is, that in the midſt of this diſpute, the prince of Orange aſked Sir Dudley Carleton a very ſhrewd queſtion, viz. Whether this claim about the fiſhery might not be quieted for a ſum of money? That gentleman, who was afterward created Viſcount Dorcheſter, was certainly a man of honour; but whether ſome men in power might not find a method by agents of their own, to convey an anſwer to ſo plain a demand, is more than at this diſtance of time can be determined. Sir William Monſon tells us, that in reference to the diſputes about the flag, the Dutch found a kind of protector in the great earl of Saliſbury; nor is it at all impoſſible, that they might alſo find an advocate in this important buſineſs of the fiſhery: but if they did, this muſt have been a miniſterial and not a national bargain, ſince we ſhall find, that in the next reign, this claim was inſiſted upon as warmly, and with ſomewhat better effect.

We come now to the only naval expedition of conſequence, undertaken during the time this king ſat upon the throne, which was the attempt upon Algiers. What the real grounds were of this romantic undertaking, ſeem not eaſy to be diſcovered. The common ſtory is, that count Gondemar, having gained an aſcendancy over his majeſty's underſtanding, perſuaded him, contrary to his natural inclination, which ſeldom permitted him to act vigorouſly againſt his own enemies, to fit out a formidable fleet, in order to humble the foes of the king of Spain. But we have it from other hands, that this was a project of much older ſtanding: that the earl of Nottingham had ſollicited the king to ſuch an expedition, before he laid down his charge of lord high admiral; and that Sir Robert Manſel infuſed it into the head of his ſucceſſor Buckingham, that it would give a great reputation to his management of naval affairs, if ſuch a thing was entered upon in the dawn of his adminiſtration. As Buckingham eaſily brought the king to conſent to whatever himſelf approved, there is the

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utmoſt probability, that it was by his influence this deſign was carried into execution.

In the month of October, 1620, this fleet ſailed from Plymouth. It conſiſted of ſix men of war, and twelve ſtout ſhips hired from the merchants. Of theſe Sir Robert Manſel, then vice-admiral of England, had the command in chief: Sir Richard Hawkins was vice, and Sir Thomas Button, rear-admiral. On the 27th of November, they came to an anchor in Algier-road, and ſaluted the town; but without receiving a ſingle gun in anſwer. On the 28th, the admiral ſent a gentleman with a white flag to let the Turkiſh viceroy know the cauſe of his coming; who returned him an anſwer by four commiſſioners, that he had orders from the Grand Seignior to uſe the Engliſh with the utmoſt reſpect, to ſuffer their men to come on ſhore, and to furniſh them with what proviſions they wanted. Upon this, a negotiation enſued; in which it is hard to ſay, whether the Turks or the admiral acted with greater chicanery. The former refuſed to diſmiſs the gentleman firſt ſent, unleſs an Engliſh conſul was left at Algiers; and the latter, to rid himſelf of this difficulty, prevailed upon a ſeaman to put on a ſuit of good cloaths, and to paſs for a conſul: this cheat not being diſcovered by the Turks, they ſent forty Engliſh ſlaves on board the admiral, and promiſed to give him ſatisfaction as to his other demands; upon which, he ſailed again for the Spaniſh coaſt, attended by ſix French men of war, the admiral of which ſquadron had ſtruck to the Engliſh fleet on his firſt joining it, which ſeems to have been the greateſt honour, and perhaps the greateſt advantage too that attended this whole expedition.

It had been well if this enterprize had ended thus; but after receiving a ſupply of proviſions from England, it was reſolved to make another attempt upon Algiers in the ſpring, and, if poſſible, to burn the ſhips in the mole. Accordingly in the month of May the fleet left the coaſt of Majorca, and upon the 21ſt

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of the ſame month, anchored before Algiers, and began to prepare for the execution of this deſign. Two ſhips taken from the Turks, one of an hundred, the other of ſixty tons, were fitted up for this purpoſe. Seven armed boats followed to ſuſtain thoſe of the fire-ſhips, in caſe they were purſued at their coming off. Theſe were likewiſe furniſhed with fire-works to deſtroy the ſhips without the mole.

The wind not being favourable, the attempt was put off till the 24th, and blowing then at S. S. W, the ſhips advanced with a briſk gale toward the mole; but when they were within leſs than a muſket-ſhot of the mole's head, the wind died away, and it grew ſo calm they could not enter. However, the boats and brigantines finding they were diſcovered, by the brightneſs of the moon, which was then at full, and being informed by a chriſtian ſlave, who ſwam from the town, that the Turks had left their ſhips unguarded, with only a man or two in each of them, they reſolved to proceed; which they did, but performed little or nothing, and then retired with the loſs of ſix men. After a day or two's ſtay they put to ſea, and in the month of June returned to England. This ill-concerted enterprize had no other effect, than that of expoſing our own commerce to the inſults of the Algerines, who did us a great deal of miſchief, while we did them little or none. Two other fleets were afterward ſent againſt them, one under the command of the lord Willoughby, and the other under that of the earl of Denbigh; but both did ſo ſmall ſervice, that very few of our hiſtories take any notice of them. Sir William Monſon has made ſome ſevere, but juſt obſervations, upon theſe undertakings; and particularly remarks, that notwithſtanding the whole nation was grievouſly offended, as they will always be at ſuch miſcarriages, yet they never had any ſatisfaction given them; which irritated them exceedingly, and contributed not a little to raiſe that ſpirit, which vented itſelf afterward in a civil war.

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In 1623, happened the bloody affair of Amboyna; of which we have given a detail in vol. 2. p. 421.

It is indeed ſtrange, that, conſidering the ſtrength of the nation at ſea at the time we received this inſult, and the quick ſenſe the Engliſh always have of any national affront; no proper ſatisfaction was obtained, nor any vigorous meaſures entered into, in order to exact it. But the wonder will in a great meaſure ceaſe, when we conſider the ſtate of the crown, and of the people at that period. Therefore, though it made a great noiſe, and occaſioned much expoſtulation with that republic, yet the attention of the crown to the propoſed war with Spain, and its concern for the recovery of the Palatinate, joined to the neceſſity there was of managing the Dutch at ſo critical a juncture, hindered our proceeding any farther than remonſtrances, while our competitors kept excluſively ſo very conſiderable a branch of trade.

Nothing of importance relating to naval affairs in this reign remains unmentioned, except the ſending a fleet to bring home prince Charles from Spain, may be reckoned in that number. It conſiſted, however, of a few ſhips only, but in good order, and well manned; ſo that the Spaniards are ſaid to have expreſſed great ſatisfaction at the ſight of it: which, however, true or falſe, is a matter of no great conſequence. This voyage, though a ſhort one, gave prince Charles ſome idea of maritime affairs; which proved afterward of benefit to the nation. The breaking the Spaniſh match made way for a war with that kingdom, much to the ſatisfaction of the Engliſh; but in the midſt of the preparations that were making for it, the king ended his days at Theobald's, on the 27th of March, 1625, in the 59th year of his age, and in the 23d of his reign. His pacific temper occaſioned our having but little to ſay at this period; but it will be proper to give the reader a conciſe view of the improvement of trade and navi-

gation,

gation, as well as a brief account of the colonies ſettled, while this prince ſat upon the throne.

It has been already ſhewn, that under the public-ſpirited adminiſtration of queen Elizabeth, this nation firſt came to have any thing like a competent notion of the benefits of an extenſive commerce; and began to think of managing their own trade themſelves, which down to that period had been almoſt entirely in the hands of foreigners. So long as the war continued with Spain, our merchants went on in a right way; they proſecuted their private advantage in ſuch a manner, as that it proved likewiſe of public utility, by increaſing the number of ſeamen, and of ſtout ſhips belonging to this kingdom: but after king James's acceſſion, and the taking place of that peace which they had ſo long and ſo earneſtly expected, things took a ſtrange turn. Our traders ſaw the manifeſt advantage of uſing large and ſtout ſhips; but inſtead of building them, were contented to freight thoſe of their neighbours, becauſe a little money was to be ſaved by this method. In conſequence of this notion, our ſhipping decayed in proportion as our trade encreaſed; till in the year 1615, things were come to ſo ſtrange a paſs, that there were not ten ſhips of 200 tons belonging to the port of London. Upon this, the Trinity-houſe petitioned the king, ſetting forth the matter of fact, and the dreadful conſequences it would have, with reſpect to our naval power, through the decay of ſeamen; and praying, that the king would put in execution ſome good old laws, which were calculated for the redreſs of this evil: ſuggeſting alſo the example of the ſtate of Venice, which, on a like occaſion, had prohibited their ſubjects to tranſport any goods in foreign bottoms. The merchants unanimouſly oppoſed the mariners in this diſpute, and, having at this juncture better intereſt at court, prevailed. Yet, in a year's time, the tables were turned, and the merchants convinced

vinced of their own miſtake, joined with the mariners in a like application. An extraordinary accident produced this happy effect. Two ſhips, each of the burden of three hundred tons, came into the river Thames, laden with currants and cotton, the property of ſome Dutch merchants reſiding here. This immediately opened the eyes of all our traders: they ſaw now, that, through their own error, they were come back to the very point from which they ſet out; and if ſome bold and effectual remedy was not immediately applied, our commerce would be gradually driven again by foreigners on foreign bottoms. They inſtantly drew up a repreſentation of this, and laid it before the king and his council; upon which a proclamation was iſſued, forbidding any Engliſh ſubject to export or import goods in any but Engliſh bottoms.

When a people have once entered into a courſe of induſtry, the benefits accruing from it, will generally keep them in that road; and even the difficulties they meet with, turn to their advantage. Thus, after the Engliſh merchants had built a few large ſhips in their own ports, and furniſhed them with artillery and other neceſſaries, they found themſelves in a condition to launch into many trades, that were unthought of before. For ſome time, indeed, they ſuffered not a little by the pirates of Barbary; yet, in the end, it put them upon building ſtill larger ſhips, as well as taking more care in providing and manning ſmall ones. This had ſuch an effect in the ſpace of ſeven years, that whereas ſhips of a hundred tons had been before eſteemed very large veſſels, and were generally built and brought from beyond the ſeas; there were now many merchantmen of three, four, and five hundred tons belonging to ſeveral ports. So that before the death of king James, our trade was ſo far increaſed, that, in the opinion of Sir William Monſon, we were little, if at all inferior in maritime force to the Dutch.

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In reſpect to the encouragements given by the crown, for promoting commerce and plantations in the Eaſt Indies, and America, they were as great under this reign, as under any ſucceeding one. Several voyages were made on account of the Eaſt India company, and the king did not ſpare ſending an ambaſſador into thoſe parts for their ſervice *. Virginia and New England were in a great meaſure planted; Barbadoes poſſeſſed and ſettled, and Bermudas diſcovered in his time. Even the attempts made for fixing colonies in Newfoundland, and Acadia, or New Scotland, though ineffectual, occaſioned building a great many good ſhips, increaſed the Newfoundland fiſhery, added to the number of our ſailors, and kept alive that ſpirit of diſcovering, which is eſſential to a beneficial commerce. Beſide, they engaged abundance of knowing and experienced perſons to write upon all branches of traffic; and their books, which yet remain, ſufficiently prove, that there were numbers in thoſe days, who thoroughly underſtood all the arts neceſſary to promote manufactures, navigation and uſeful commerce.

As to the navy, which was more particularly the care of the crown, we find it frequently engaged the attention of the king himſelf, as well as of his miniſters. In moſt of our naval hiſtories, we have a liſt of nine ſhips added to the royal navy of England by this prince. But of the greateſt ſhip built in this king's reign, we have ſo exact, and at the ſame time ſo authentic an account, in Stow's Annals, that it may not be amiſs to tranſcribe it.

"This year, 1610, the king built a moſt goodly ſhip for war; the keel whereof was one hundred and fourteen feet long, and the croſs-beam was forty-four feet in length: ſhe will carry ſixty-four pieces of great ordinance, and is of the burthen of fourteen hundred tons. This royal ſhip is double built, and is moſt ſumptuouſly adorned, within and without, with all man-

* See Sir Thomas Roe's embaſſy, in vol. 6.

manner of curious carving, painting, and rich gilding, being in all reſpects the greateſt and goodlieſt ſhip that ever was built in England; and this glorious ſhip the king gave unto his ſon Henry prince of Wales. The 24th of September, the king, the queen, the prince of Wales, the duke of York, and the lady Elizabeth, with many other lords, went unto Woolwich, to ſee it launched; but becauſe of the narrowneſs of the dock, it could not then be launched: whereupon the prince came the next morning by three o'clock, and then, at the launching thereof, the prince named it after his own dignity, and called it The Prince. The great workmaſter in building this ſhip, was maſter Phineas Pet, gentleman, ſometime maſter of arts of Emanuel College in Cambridge."

In the ſame author, we have an account of the king's going on board the great Eaſt India ſhip of twelve hundred tons, which was built here, and ſeems to have been the firſt of that ſize launched in this kingdom. The king called it, The Trade's Increaſe; and a pinnace of two hundred and fifty tons, which was built at the ſame time, he called, The Pepper-Corn. This ſhews that he was a favourer of navigation. The king alſo granted a commiſſion of enquiry, for reforming the abuſes in the navy; the proceedings upon which are ſtill preſerved in the Cotton-library. He was liberal alſo to ſeamen, and naturally inclined to do them honour; but as in other things, ſo in this, he was too much governed by his favourites.

Upon the demiſe of king James, his only ſon Charles prince of Wales ſucceeded him; not only quietly, and without diſturbance, but with the general approbation of his ſubjects. He was then in the flower of his age, had ſhewn himſelf poſſeſſed of great abilities; and after the breaking off the Spaniſh match, he rendered himſelf for a time very popular by his conduct. His father left him in a ſituation much incumbered

cumbered at the time of his deceaſe; for the government was deeply in debt, a war with Spain was juſt begun, and his prime miniſter, the duke of Buckingham, who had been likewiſe his father's, was generally hated. In this ſad ſtate of public affairs, every thing was ſubject to wrong conſtructions. Eight thouſand men, raiſed for the ſervice of the Palatinate, were ordered to rendezvous at Plymouth; and in their paſſage thither, coat and conduct-money were demanded of the country, to be repaid out of the Exchequer. The behaviour of theſe troops was very licentious; and the long continuance of peace, made it appear ſtill a greater grievance. The clamour thereupon grew high; and the king, to remedy this evil, granted a commiſſion for executing martial-law, which, inſtead of being conſidered as a remedy, was taken for a new grievance, more heavy than any of the reſt.

During the time that Buckingham remained in the king's council, all things were attributed to him; and the nation was ſo prejudiced againſt him, that whatever was reputed to be done by him, was thought a grievance: and though no man ſaw this more clearly than the king, yet by an infatuation, not eaſily to be accounted for, he truſted him as much, and loved him much more than his father had ever done.

The marriage of Charles with the princeſs Henrietta-Maria, daughter to Henry IV. of France, had been concluded in the life-time of king James; and after his deceaſe, the king was married to her by proxy. In the month of June, 1625, Buckingham went to attend her with the royal navy, and brought her to Dover; from thence ſhe came to Canterbury, where the marriage was conſummated: and on the 16th of the ſame month, their majeſties entered London privately, the plague daily increaſing in the ſuburbs. It was not long before an unfortunate tranſaction rendered this marriage diſagreeable to the people, and

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as this related to the navy, it falls particularly under our cognizance; which we ſhall therefore handle more at large, becauſe in moſt of our general hiſtories it is treated very confuſedly.

The marquis d'Effiat, ambaſſador from France to king James, had repreſented to his majeſty, that the power of the catholic king in Italy was dangerous to all Europe; that his maſter was equally inclined with his Britannic majeſty to curtail it: but wanting a ſufficient maritime force, was deſirous of borrowing from his majeſty a few ſhips, to enable him to execute the deſign he had formed againſt Genoa. To this the king condeſcended; and it was agreed, that the Great Neptune, a man of war, commanded by Sir Ferdinando Gorges, and ſix merchant ſhips, each of between three and four hundred tons burden, ſhould be lent to the French: but ſoon after this agreement, the Rochellers made an application here, ſignifying, that they had juſt grounds to apprehend, that this Engliſh ſquadron would be employed for deſtroying the proteſtant intereſt in France, inſtead of diminiſhing the king of Spain's power in Italy.

The duke of Buckingham, knowing that this would be little reliſhed by captain Pennington, who was to go admiral of the fleet, and the owners of the ſhips; he gave them private inſtructions, contrary to the public contract with France, whereby they were directed not to ſerve againſt Rochelle: but upon their coming into a French port, in the month of May, they were told by the duke of Montmorency, that they were intended to ſerve, and ſhould ſerve againſt Rochelle; upon which, the ſailors on board the fleet ſigned, what is called by them, a round Robin, that is, a paper containing their reſolution not to engage in that ſervice, with their names ſubſcribed in a circle, that it might not be diſcerned who ſigned firſt.

Upon this, Pennington fairly ſailed away with the whole ſquadron, and returned into the Downs in the

beginning of July; from whence he ſent a letter to the duke of Buckingham, deſiring to be excuſed from that ſervice. The duke, without acquainting the king, or conſulting the council, directed lord Conway, then ſecretary of ſtate, to write a letter to captain Pennington, commanding him to put all the ſhips into the hands of the French. This, however, not taking effect, the duke ſuperſtitiouſly, and without the king's knowing any thing of the deſign upon Rochelle, procured his letter to captain Pennington, to the ſame effect. Upon this, in the month of Auguſt, he ſailed a ſecond time to Dieppe, where, according to his inſtructions, the merchant ſhips were delivered to the French; but Sir Ferdinando Gorges, who commanded the king's ſhip, weighed anchor and put to ſea: and ſo honeſt were all the ſeamen on board theſe ſhips, that, except one gunner, they all quitted them, and returned to England: but as for the ſhips, they remained with the French, and were actually employed againſt Rochelle, contrary to the king's intention, and to the very high diſhonour of the nation. This affair made a great noiſe, and came at laſt to form an article in an impeachment againſt the duke of Buckingham.

In the mean time the deſign ſtill went on of attacking and invading Spain, and a ſtout fleet was provided for that purpoſe; but as Buckingham, in quality of lord high-admiral, had the ſupream direction of that affair, the nation looked upon it with an evil eye, and were not ſo much diſpleaſed at its miſcarriage, as glad of an opportunity of railing at the duke, and thoſe who, by his influence, were entruſted with the command of the fleet, and forces on board it. The whole of this tranſaction has been very differently related, according to the humours of thoſe who penned the accounts; however, there are very authentic memoirs remaining, which inform us that this war with Spain was chiefly of the duke of Buck-

Buckingham's procuring, and ſeems to have proceeded more from his perſonal diſtaſte to count Olivarez, than any ſolid or honourable motive.

While the clamour ſubſiſted on the want of ſucceſs attending this fleet abroad, the duke of Buckingham fell into another error, in the execution of his office as lord high-admiral at home. He was vexed at the noiſe that had been made about the merchant ſhips put into the hands of the French, and employed againſt Rochelle; and therefore took occaſion in the latter end of the year 1626, to cauſe a French ſhip, called the St. Peter, of Havre de Grace, to be arreſted. The pretence was, that it was laden with Spaniſh effects; which, however, the French denied, and aſſerted, that all the goods in the ſhip belonged to French merchants, or to Engliſh and Dutch. Upon this a commiſſion was granted to hear evidence as to that point; and it appearing plainly, there was no juſt ground of ſeizure, the ſhip was ordered to be releaſed, but not before the French king made ſome repriſals: which ſo irritated the nation, that this alſo was made an article in the duke's impeachment. The matter, however, was compromiſed between the two kings, and the good correſpondence between their ſubjects for a time reſtored; but at the bottom, there was no cordial reconciliation: and ſo this quarrel, like a wound ill cured, broke quickly out again with worſe ſymptoms than before.

The war in which the king was engaged, in order to have procured the reſtitution of the Palatinate to his brother-in-law, had drawn him into a league with Denmark, which obliged him to ſend a ſquadron of ſhips to that king's aſſiſtance; and this being attended with ſmall ſucceſs, he was called upon for farther ſupplies. His parliaments all this time were little inclined to aſſiſt him, becauſe he would not part with Buckingham; and this obliged him to have recourſe to ſuch methods for ſupply, as his lawyers aſſured him were juſtifiable. Amongſt the reſt, he obliged all

the ſea ports to furniſh him with ſhips: of the city of London he demanded twenty, and of other places in proportion.

The inhabitants thought this ſo hard, that many, who had no immediate dependence on trade, were for quitting their reſidence in maritime places, and retiring up into the country. This conduct of theirs made the burden ſtill more intolerable upon thoſe who ſtaid behind; and the conſequence of their remonſtrances was a proclamation, requiring ſuch as had quitted the ſea-coaſt, to return immediately to their former dwellings: and this it was gave riſe to the firſt diſturbances in this unfortunate reign. They were quickly increaſed by the raſh management of Buckingham; who, though he ſaw his maſter ſo deeply embarraſſed with the wars in which he was already engaged, yet plunged him into another with France, very precipitately, and againſt all the rules of true policy.

The queen's foreign ſervants, who were all bigotted papiſts, had not only acted indiſcreetly in matters relating to their religion, but had likewiſe drawn the queen to take ſome very wrong, to ſay the truth, ſome ridiculous and extravagant ſteps; upon which Buckingham engaged his majeſty to diſmiſs her French ſervants, which he did the firſt of July, 1626, and then ſent the lord Carleton to repreſent his reaſons, for taking ſo quick a meaſure, to the French king. That monarch refuſed him audience, and to ſhew his ſenſe of the action, immediately ſeized one hundred and twenty of our ſhips which were in his ports, and undertook the ſiege of Rochelle; though our king had acted but a little before, as a mediator between him and his proteſtant ſubjects. Upon this, the latter applied themſelves to king Charles, who ordered a fleet of thirty ſail to be equipped for their relief, and ſent it under the command of the earl of Denbigh: but this being ſo late in the year as the month of October, his lordſhip found it impracti-

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cable to execute his commiſſion; and ſo, after continuing ſome time at ſea in hard weather, returned into port; which not only diſappointed the king's intention, but alſo blemiſhed his reputation, as the Rochellers began to ſuſpect the ſincerity of this deſign.

The duke of Buckingham, to put the thing out of diſpute, cauſed a great fleet to be drawn together the next year, and an army of ſeven thouſand men to be put on board it; reſolving to go himſelf as admiral and commander in chief. He ſailed from Portſmouth the 27th of June, and landed on the iſland of Rhe; though at firſt he intended to have made a deſcent on Oleron, and actually promiſed ſo much to the duke of Soubiſe, whom he ſent to Rochelle, to acquaint the inhabitants of his coming to their relief. They received this meſſage coldly; for the French king having corrupted ſome by his gold, and terrifying many more by his power, the Rochellers were now afraid to receive the very ſuccours they had demanded.

The town of St. Martin's however was ſpeedily taken by the Engliſh, and his grace then inveſted the citadel; but gave evident proofs of his want of military ſkill in managing the ſiege. By this time the Rochellers had declared for the Engliſh; and this declaration of theirs, and the expectation he had of ſuccours from England, engaged Buckingham to remain ſo long in his camp, that his troops were much diminiſhed. At length, on the 6th of November, he made a general aſſault; when it appeared, that the place was impregnable to forces under ſuch circumſtances as his were. Two days after, he reſolved upon a retreat; which was as ill conducted as the reſt of the expedition. With equal ſhame and loſs therefore, the duke concluded this unlucky expedition, embarking all his forces on the 9th of the ſame month, and ſending the Rochellers a ſolemn promiſe, that he would come back again to their relief; which, however, he did not live to perform. To compleat his misfortune, as he entered Plymouth, he met the

earl of Holland with the promiſed ſuccours ſailing out, who now returned with him.

To remedy thoſe evils, a parliament was called in the beginning of 1628, wherein there paſſed nothing but diſputes between the king and the commons; ſo that at laſt it was prorogued without granting ſupplies. The king, however, exerted himſelf to the utmoſt, in preparing a naval force to make good what the duke of Buckingham had promiſed to the inhabitants of Rochelle. With this view a fleet of fifty ſail was aſſembled at Plymouth in the ſpring, and a large body of marines embarked; the command of it was given to the earl of Denbigh, who was brother-in-law to Buckingham, and who ſailed from that port on the 17th of April, coming to anchor in the road of Rochelle on the 1ſt of May. On his arrival, he found twenty ſail of the French king's ſhips riding before the harbour; and being much ſuperior in number and ſtrength, he ſent advice into the town, that he would ſink the French ſhips as ſoon as the wind came weſt, and made a higher flood. About the 8th of May, the wind and tide ſerved accordingly, and the Rochellers expected and ſollicited that deliverance: but the earl, without remembering his promiſe, or embracing the opportunity, weighed anchor and ſailed away, ſuffering four of the French ſhips to purſue, as it were, the Engliſh fleet, which arrived at Plymouth on the 26th of May.

This ſecond inglorious expedition was ſtill a greater diſcouragement to the poor Rochellers; and increaſed the fears and jealouſies of a popiſh intereſt at home. One Le Brun, a Frenchman, but captain in the Engliſh fleet, gave in depoſitions before the mayor of Plymouth, on the 6th of May, which argued treachery, or apparent cowardice, in the management of this late expedition. This account was certified by the mayor of Plymouth, and the two burgeſſes of that town in parliament, by whom it was communicated to the council-table; from whence a letter was directed

directed to the duke of Buckingham, as lord high-admiral, dated the 30th of May, 1628, to ſignify his majeſty's pleaſure, that the earl of Denbigh ſhould return back to relieve the town of Rochelle, with the fleet under his charge, and with other ſhips prepared at Portſmouth and Plymouth. But, notwithſtanding this order of council, no ſuch return was made; nor any enquiry into the diſobedience of the king's order for it.

Notwithſtanding theſe repeated defeats, the cries of the Rochellers, and the clamours of the people were ſo loud, that a third fleet was prepared for the relief of that city, now, by a cloſe ſiege, reduced to the laſt extremity. The duke of Buckingham choſe to command in perſon, and to that end came to Portſmouth; where, on the 23d of Auguſt, he was aſſaſſinated by one Felton, an enthuſiaſtic officer of the army.

This accident did not prevent the king's proſecuting his deſign; the very next day his majeſty made the earl of Lindſey admiral, Monſon and Mountjoy, vice and rear-admirals: and, as an illuſtrious foreign writer aſſures us, his care and preſence had ſuch an effect in the preparing for this voyage, that more was diſpatched now, in ten or twelve days, than in many weeks before. This expedition, however, was not more fortunate than the former. The fleet ſailed the 8th of September, 1628, and arriving before Rochelle, found the boom raiſed to block up the entrance of the port, ſo ſtrong, that though many attempts were made to break through it, yet they proved vain; ſo that the Rochellers were glad to accept of terms from their own prince, and actually ſurrendered the place on the 18th of October, the Engliſh fleet looking on, without being able to help them. With this expedition ended the operations of the war with France.

From this time, the French began to be ambitious of raiſing a maritime power, and to be extreamly uneaſy at the growth of the Engliſh ſhipping. This

was the effect of Richlieu's politics, who beſt underſtood the different intereſts of the ſeveral European powers, of any miniſter that nation ever had, or, it is to be hoped, for the peace of Chriſtendom, will ever have. He revived the diſpute between the Dutch and us, reſpecting the fiſhery; and the famous Hugo Grotius was induced to write a treatiſe, under the title of *Mare Liberum*, wherein, with great eloquence, he endeavoured to ſhew the weakneſs of our title to dominion over the ſea: which, according to his notion, was a gift from God, common to all nations. This was anſwered by Selden, in his famous treatiſe, entitled, *Mare Clauſum*; wherein he has effectually demonſtrated, from the principles of the law of nature and nations, and from hiſtory, that a dominion over the ſea may be, and has been, acquired. This book of Mr. Selden's was publiſhed in 1634, and by the countenance then, and afterward, ſhewn by king Charles toward this extraordinary performance, we may fairly conclude, that he had very juſt and generous notions of his own, and his people's rights in this reſpect, though he was very unfortunate in taking ſuch methods as he did to ſupport them.

The French miniſter perſiſted ſteadily in his Machiavellian ſcheme, of uſing the power and induſtry of the Dutch, to interrupt the trade, and leſſen the maritime force of Britain. With this view alſo, a negotiation was begun between that crown and the ſtates of Holland, for dividing the Spaniſh Netherlands between them; and under colour of thus aſſiſting them, in ſupport of their pretenſions to an equal right over the ſea, and in promoting their trade, to the prejudice of ours, Richlieu carried on ſecretly and ſecurely his darling object of raiſing a naval force in France: to promote which, he ſpared not either for pains or expence, procuring from all parts the ableſt perſons in all arts and ſciences, any way relating to navigation, and fixing them in the French ſervice, by giving them great encouragement.

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The apprehenſions which the king had entertained of this new league between the French and Dutch, were ſo heightened in the year 1635, by the junction of the fleets of thoſe two powers, and the intelligence he had, that France was ſhortly to declare war againſt Spain, and from thence to derive that occaſion they had been ſo long ſeeking to divide the Netherlands between themſelves and their new allies; all whoſe pretenſions, in reſpect to the right of fiſhing in, and uſing an unreſtrained navigation in the ſeas, they had undertaken to ſupport, that he reſolved to be no longer paſſive. In order to defeat this deſign, and maintain the ſovereignty annexed to the Engliſh crown, as well as the nation's credit, as a maritime power; the king ſaw, that it was neceſſary to equip and put to ſea a ſuperior naval force.

This it ſeemed exceeding hard to do, without the aſſiſtance of a parliament; and yet the delays in granting aids had been ſo great in former parliaments, that his majeſty was very doubtful of ſucceeding, if for this he truſted to a parliamentary ſupply. His lawyers, knowing both the nature of the caſe, and his deep diſtreſs, ſuggeſted to him, that upon this occaſion, he might have recourſe to his prerogative; which opinion having been approved by the judges, he thereupon directed writs to be iſſued, for the levying of ſhip-money. Theſe writs were, for the preſent, directed only to ſea-ports, and ſuch places as were near the coaſt; requiring them to furniſh a certain number of ſhips, or to grant the king an equivalent thereto. The city of London was directed to provide ſeven ſhips for twenty-ſix days, and other places in proportion. To make the nation more eaſy under this tax, the king directed, that the money raiſed thereby, ſhould be kept apart in the exchequer; and that a diſtinct account ſhould be given of the ſervices to which it was applied. Yet, in ſpite of theſe precautions, the people murmured grievouſly; which,

which, however, did not hinder this project from being carried into execution.

With the help of this money, the king, in the month of May, 1635, fitted out a fleet of forty ſail, under the command of Robert earl of Lindſey, who was admiral; Sir William Monſon, vice-admiral, Sir John Pennington, rear-admiral: as alſo another of twenty ſail, under the earl of Eſſex. The firſt of theſe fleets ſailed from Tilbury-Hope on the 26th of May. Their inſtructions were, to give no occaſion of hoſtility and to ſuffer nothing that might prejudice the rights of the king and kingdom. The French and Dutch fleets joined off Portland, the laſt of this month; and made no ſcruple of giving out, that they intended to aſſert their own independency, and to queſtion that prerogative which the Engliſh claimed in the narrow ſeas; but as ſoon as they were informed that the Engliſh fleet was at ſea, and in ſearch of them, they quitted our coaſt, and repaired to their own.

Our admiral ſent a bark upon the coaſt of Britany, to take a view of them; and from the time of the return of this bark, to the 1ſt of October, this fleet protected our own ſeas and ſhores, gave laws to the neighbouring nations, and effectually aſſerted that ſovereignty which the monarchs of this kingdom have ever claimed. The good effect of this armament, and the reputation we gained thereby abroad, in ſome meaſure quieted the minds of the people; as it convinced them, that this was not an invention to bring money into the exchequer, without reſpect had to the end for which it was raiſed.

The king, perfectly ſatisfied with what had been done this year, and yet well knowing that it would ſignify little if another, and that at leaſt as good a fleet, was not ſet out the next; to raiſe the money neceſſary for equipping ſuch a force, had recourſe again to his writs for levying of ſhip-money: but now the aid was made more extenſive. The burden, indeed,

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in itſelf, was far from being preſſing: at the utmoſt it did not amount to above 236,000 l. per annum, which was not quite 20,000 l. a month throughout the whole kingdom; yet the making it an univerſal aid, and the aſſeſſing and collecting it in the parliamentary methods, without parliamentary authority, gave it an air of oppreſſion, and made it extreamly odious.

In order to prevent all doubts from his own ſubjects, and alſo to prevent any falſe ſurmiſes gaining ground in foreign nations, as to the deſign of this potent armament; the king thought fit to expreſs his royal intentions to the world, in the moſt public, and in the moſt authentic manner: that, at one and the ſame time, it might appear what himſelf demanded, and what had been paid in acknowledgment of the right of his anceſtors in regard to thoſe things, as to which theſe demands were made.

In 1636, the king ſent a fleet of ſixty ſail to ſea, under the command of the earl of Northumberland, admiral; Sir John Pennington, vice-admiral, and Sir Henry Marom, rear-admiral. They ſailed firſt to the Downs, and from hence to the north, where the Dutch buſſes were fiſhing upon our coaſt. The admiral required them to forbear; which they not ſeeming diſpoſed to do, he fired upon them: this put them into great confuſion, and obliged them to have recourſe to other methods. The Dutch, therefore, applied themſelves to the earl of Northumberland; deſired him to mediate with the king, that they might have leave to go on with their fiſhing this year, for which they were content to pay 30,000 l. and expreſſed alſo a willingneſs to obtain a grant from the king, for his permiſſion for their veſſels to fiſh there for the time to come, paying an annual tribute.

Such is the beſt account that can be collected of the cauſes and conſequences of this expedition, from our beſt hiſtorians. But the earl of Northumberland delivered a journal of his whole proceedings, ſigned with

with his own hand; which is, or at leaſt was preſerved in the paper-office. In that journal, there are ſeveral memorable particulars. The Dutch fiſhing-buſſes, upon the appearance of his lordſhip's fleet, did take licences, to the number of two hundred, though he arrived amongſt them pretty late in the year. He exacted from them twelve pence per ton, as an acknowledgment; and affirms that they went away well ſatisfied. It was pretended by the Dutch in king Charles the ſecond's time, that this was an act of violence; and that nothing could be concluded as to the right of this crown, from that tranſaction: ſince the Dutch did not pay, becauſe they thought what was inſiſted upon to be due, but, becauſe they were defenceleſs. His lordſhip's journal ſets this pretence entirely aſide; ſince it appeared from thence, that they had a ſquadron of ten men of war for their protection; as alſo, that Auguſt the 20th, 1636, the Dutch vice-admiral Dorp, came with a fleet of twenty men of war: but inſtead of interrupting the earl in his proceedings, he ſaluted him by lowering his topſails, ſtriking his flag and firing his guns; after which he came on board, and was well entertained by the earl of Northumberland. It is farther mentioned in that journal, that upon his lordſhip's return from the north, and anchoring in the Downs, he had notice of a Spaniſh fleet of twenty-ſix ſail, bound for Dunkirk; to reconnoitre which he ſent one of the ſhips of his ſquadron, called the Happy Entrance; to which ſingle ſhip, that fleet paid the marks of reſpect, which were due to the Engliſh flag whenever it appeared.

The king meant to have continued both this method of raiſing money, and of fitting out fleets annually; and by giving ſeveral young noblemen commands at ſea, to have rendered them the more capable of ſerving their country in times of greater danger: but he quickly found this impracticable. The nation grew ſo exceedingly diſſatisfied with this method

method of raiſing money, and the great caſe of Mr. Hampden made it ſo clear, that a conſtant and regular levying of this tax was dangerous to the conſtitution, and to the freedom of the ſubject; that the king was obliged to lay aſide this ſcheme, and to content himſelf with uſing all the methods that could be thought of, to awaken the people's attention in regard to the ſovereignty of the ſea. With this view, his majeſty made an order in council, that a copy of Mr. Selden's book upon that ſubject, ſhould be kept in the council-cheſt, that another copy ſhould be kept in the court of exchequer, and a third in the court of admiralty; there to remain as perpetual evidence of our juſt claim to the dominion of the ſeas.

Nothing of conſequence occurs in regard to naval affairs till the year 1639, when the Spaniards fitted out a powerful fleet, conſiſting of ſixty-ſeven ſail of large ſhips, manned with 25,000 ſeamen, and having on board 12,000 land forces, deſigned for the relief of Flanders. The Dutch had two or three ſquadrons at ſea; the Spaniſh fleet coming up the channel, was met in the ſtreights by one of them, conſiſting of ſeventeen ſail, under the command of Martin, the ſon of Herbert Van Tromp, who, notwithſtanding the enemy's great ſuperiority, attacked them: but finding himſelf too weak, was obliged to ſheer off towards Dunkirk; where, being joined by the other ſquadrons, he ſo roughly handled the Spaniſh fleet, under the command of Don Antonio de Oquendo, that at laſt he forced them on the Engliſh coaſt near Dover.

Admiral Van Tromp finding himſelf in want of powder and ball, ſtood away for Calais; where he was liberally ſupplied by the governor, and then returned to attack the enemy. Upon his approach, the Spaniards got within the South-Foreland, and put themſelves under the protection of our caſtles. Things being in this ſituation, the Spaniſh reſident importuned king Charles, that he would oblige the Dutch

Dutch to forbear hoſtilities for two tides, that the Spaniards might have an opportunity of bearing away for their own coaſt; but the king being in amity with both powers, was reſolved to ſtand neuter: and whereas the Spaniards had hired ſome Engliſh ſhips to tranſport their ſoldiers to Dunkirk, upon complaint made thereof by the Dutch ambaſſadors, ſtrict orders were given, that no ſhips or veſſels belonging to his majeſty's ſubjects, ſhould take any Spaniard on board, or paſs below Graveſend without licence.

However, after much plotting and counterplotting on both ſides, the Spaniard at length outwitted his enemy; and found means, by a ſtratagem in the night, to convey away through the Downs, round by the North-Sand-Head, and the back of the Godwin, twelve large ſhips to Dunkirk, and in them four thouſand men. In excuſe of this groſs neglect of the Dutch admirals, in leaving that avenue from the Downs unguarded; they affirmed they were aſſured by the Engliſh, that no ſhips of any conſiderable burden could venture by night to ſail that way. The two fleets had now continued in their ſtations near three weeks, when king Charles ſent the earl of Arundel to the admiral of Spain, to deſire him to retreat upon the firſt fair wind: but by this time the Dutch fleet was, by continual reinforcements from Zealand and Holland, increaſed to an hundred ſail; and ſeeming diſpoſed to attack their enemies, Sir John Pennington, admiral of his majeſty's fleet, who lay in the Downs with thirty-four men of war, acquainted the Dutch admiral, that he had received orders to act in defence of either of the two parties, which ſhould be firſt attacked.

The Spaniards, however, growing too preſumptuous on the protection they enjoyed, a day or two after, fired ſome ſhot at Van Tromp's barge, when himſelf was in her; and killed a man with a cannon-ball on board of a Dutch ſhip, whoſe dead body was preſently ſent on

board Sir John Pennington, as a proof that the Spaniards were the firſt aggreſſors, and had violated the neutrality of the king of England's harbour. Soon after this the Dutch admiral, on receiving freſh orders from the ſtates, came to a reſolution of attacking the Spaniards; but before he put it in execution, he thought fit to write to admiral Pennington, telling him, that the Spaniards having infringed the liberties of the king of England's harbours, and being clearly become the aggreſſors, he found himſelf obliged to repel force by force, and attack them; in which, purſuant to the declaration he had made to him, he not only hoped for, but depended on his aſſiſtance: which, however, if he ſhould not pleaſe to grant, he requeſted the favour, that he would at leaſt give him leave to engage the enemy; otherwiſe he ſhould have juſt cauſe of complaint to all the world, of ſo manifeſt an injury.

This letter being delivered to the Engliſh admiral, Van Tromp immediately weighed and ſtood to the Spaniards in ſix diviſions, cannonading them furiouſly, and vigorouſly preſſing them at the ſame time with his fire-ſhips; ſo that he quickly forced them all to cut their cables, and of fifty-three, which the Spaniards were in number, twenty-three ran aſhore and ſtranded in the Downs: of theſe, three were burnt, two ſunk, and two periſhed on the ſhore. The remainder of the twenty-three, which were ſtranded and deſerted by the Spaniards, were manned by the Engliſh, to ſave them from falling into the hands of the Dutch. The other Spaniſh ſhips, with Don Antonio de Oquendo, the commander in chief, and Lopez, admiral of Portugal, got out to ſea, and kept in good order, till a thick fog ariſing, the Dutch took advantage thereof, interpoſed between the admirals and their fleet, and fought them valiantly till the fog cleared up, when only ten eſcaped. The firſt hoſtility having been indiſputably committed by the Spaniards, was a plea of which the Dutch made uſe in

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their juſtification to us; and at the ſame time became a ſufficient argument to defend the conduct of the Engliſh government, in ſuffering one friend to deſtroy another within its harbours.

It may not be amiſs to obſerve, that in reality the people of England were not ſorry for this misfortune that befel the Spaniards, though the court took all the care imaginable to prevent it: and the reaſon of this was, that ſome ſurmiſed this to be a new Spaniſh Armada, fitted out nominally againſt the Dutch; but in truth, intended to act againſt heretics in general.

The expedition of the marquis of Hamilton againſt the Scots, was undertaken this year; in which there is very little worth mentioning. He arrived in the Frith of Forth the firſt of May: there he continued for ſome time, treating with the Scots to little or no purpoſe, till the ſeaſon being loſt, he returned without effecting any thing.

The fleet was from this time forward ſo entirely out of the king's power, that the naval hiſtory of this reign ends properly here: and therefore having already related, the ſeveral expeditions undertaken by his authority, we come now to mention the progreſs of trade, the increaſe of ſhipping, and the encouragement of our plantations, during the ſame ſpace.

This prince, before the rebellion broke out, among others, added one ſhip to the royal navy of England; which on account of its ſize, and other remarkable particulars, deſerves to be mentioned in this place, more eſpecially as it has eſcaped the notice of all our naval writers. This famous veſſel was built at Woolwich in 1637. She was in length by the keel 128 feet; in breadth 48 feet; in length, from the fore-end of the beak-head, to the after-end of the ſtern, 232 feet: and in height, from the bottom of the keel to the top of her lanthorn, 76 feet. Bore five lanthorns, the biggeſt of which would hold ten perſons upright: had three fluſh-decks, a forecaſtle, half-deck, quarter-deck and round-houſe. Her lower tier had thirty

ports,

ports, middle tier thirty ports, third tier twenty-ſix ports, forecaſtle twelve ports, half-deck fourteen ports; thirteen or fourteen ports more within board, beſide ten pieces of chace-ordnance forward, and ten right aft, with many loop-holes in the cabins for muſket-ſhot. She had eleven anchors, one of four thouſand four hundred pounds weight. She was of the burthen of one thouſand ſix hundred and thirty-ſeven tons; and was built by Peter Pett, Eſq; under the inſpection of Captain Phineas Pett, one of the principal officers of the navy.

It appears from Sir William Monſon, and indeed from all the unprejudiced writers of thoſe times, who were competent judges of theſe matters, that the commerce of this iſland increaſed exceedingly during the firſt fifteen years of this king's reign; inſomuch that the port of London only could have ſupplied a hundred ſail, capable of being eaſily converted into men of war, and well furniſhed with ordnance. The trade to the Eaſt Indies, which was but beginning in his father's time, became now very lucrative; and our ſhips gave law in thoſe parts to almoſt all foreign nations. The trade to Guinea grew likewiſe to be of conſiderable benefit to the Engliſh ſubjects; and our intercourſe with Spain, after the ending of the war, proved of infinite advantage likewiſe. It is true, there happened ſome conſiderable diſputes between the government and the merchants, about cuſtoms, which ſome of the miniſters of the crown thought depended immediately thereupon, and might be taken by virtue of the prerogative only; whereas others conceived, as moſt of the merchants themſelves did, that nothing of this kind could be levied but by the conſent of parliament: But theſe very diſputes ſhew that trade was in a flouriſhing condition; for if the cuſtoms had not riſen to a conſiderable height, beyond what they did in former times, no miniſtry would have run the hazard of ſuch a conteſt.

But the principal ſource of our naval ſtrength then, (as it has been ever ſince) was our plantations, to the encouragement and augmentation of which, even thoſe accidents highly contributed, which might have been otherwiſe fatal to ſociety; ſuch as our civil and eccleſiaſtical diviſions, which inclined numbers of ſober, induſtrious, and thinking people, to prefer liberty, and whatever they could raiſe in diſtant and hitherto uncultivated lands, to the uneaſy ſituation in which they found themſelves at home.

The colony of Virginia had ſtruggled under great difficulties, from the time it fell under the direction of a company, till the king was pleaſed to take it into his own hands; which he did very ſoon after his coming to the crown, and then directed the conſtitution of that colony to be a governor, council, and aſſembly, conformable to that of this kingdom, and under which the colony quickly began to flouriſh. That of New England had its name beſtowed by his majeſty when prince, and was better ſettled in King James's time, than any other of our colonies; and throughout the whole reign of King Charles I. was conſtantly ſupplied with large draughts of people; ſo that by degrees it was divided into four governments.

The papiſts in England, finding themſelves liable to many ſeverities, were deſirous of having an aſylum in the new world, as well as other nonconformiſts; and this gave riſe to the planting of Maryland, a country which had been hitherto accounted part of Virginia, between 37° and 40° of N. L. It was granted by King Charles, the 20th of June, 1632, to the anceſtor of the preſent Lord Baltimore, and derived its name of Maryland, from his queen Henrietta-Maria.

The Summer Iſlands which were planted in the laſt reign, and ſettled under a regular government in the year 1619, flouriſhed exceedingly, the country being extreamly pleaſant and fruitful, and the air much

much more wholeſome than in any other part of America. As for the iſland of Barbadoes, which had been regularly planted about the beginning of the king's reign, it was granted to the earl of Carliſle, who gave ſuch encouragement to all who were inclined to go thither, and moſt of thoſe who went became ſo ſpeedily rich, that it was quickly well peopled, and even within this period, was eſteemed the moſt populous of all our plantations. The iſland of St. Chriſtopher and Nevis were alſo ſettled about this time.

Upon the commencement of violence between Charles and his parliament; it was natural for each party to be ſolicitous about the fleet, for many reaſons; and for this particularly, that whoever was maſter of that, would be conſidered as the ſupream power by foreign princes. The earl of Northumberland was at this time lord high-admiral: the king had given him that commiſſion, to ſatisfy the houſe of commons, who had a confidence in him; and granted it during pleaſure only, becauſe his intention was to confer that office on his ſon the duke of York, as ſoon as he became of age. Sir Robert Manſel was vice-admiral of England; a gentleman very loyal, but withal very infirm and far in years. Sir John Pennington was vice-admiral of the fleet, then in the Downs, and Sir John Mennes was rear admiral; both well affected to his majeſty.

The parliament having formed a project of diſpoſſeſſing the king of his fleet, executed it ſucceſsfully; notwithſtanding theſe circumſtances ſo favourable for his majeſty, and though he had the affections of the ſeamen, whoſe wages he had raiſed, and for whom he had always ſhewn a very particular regard. In the ſpring of the year, 1641, the parliament deſired, that is, in effect directed, the earl of Northumberland to provide a ſtrong fleet for the nation's ſecurity by ſea, and appropriated a proper fund for this ſervice. They next deſired, that he would appoint the earl of

Warwick admiral of that fleet, on account of his own indiſpoſition, which rendered it impoſſible for him to command in perſon. The king took this ill, and inſiſted on Sir John Pennington's keeping his command; but the earl had ſo much reſpect to the parliament's recommendation, that he ordered the fleet to be delivered up to the earl of Warwick, and granted him a commiſſion to command it, as by his own he had power to do. This was one great point gained. The parliament then would have made Captain Cartwright comptroller of the navy, vice-admiral in the room of Sir John Pennington; but he refuſing to undertake this ſervice without the king's permiſſion, his majeſty was pleaſed to ſignify his pleaſure, that he ſhould decline it; which he did, and the parliament thereupon appointed one Batten, vice-admiral, who was remarkably diſaffected toward the king: and their orders being complied with, the fleet in the ſpring 1642, fell into their hands; though the king was perſuaded in his own mind that he could at any time recover it, which was the true reaſon of his not removing at that time, as he afterward did, the earl of Northumberland from his high office. It was not long before he had good reaſon to change his opinion; for the queen, ſending his majeſty a ſmall ſupply from Holland, in the Providence, the only ſhip the king had left, the ſhips from the Downs chaſed the veſſel into the Humber, and there forced the captain to run her aſhore. Upon this the king reſolved to attempt ſeizing the fleet; and the deſign, had it been executed as well as it was laid, might very probably have taken effect; but through the miſmanagement of Sir John Pennington it miſcarried, and ſerved only to defeat the king's hopes for the future, by affording the earl of Warwick an opportunity of removing all the king's friends, which he had long wanted.

The parliament, as they had diſcovered great care and induſtry in ſecuring, ſo they ſhewed no leſs wiſ-

dom in the conduct of the fleet, which they always kept in good order and well paid. In 1643, vice-admiral Batten having intelligence, that the queen intended to go by ſea from Holland into the north of England, he did his utmoſt to intercept her, though on board a Dutch man of war. This proving ineffectual, he chaſed the ſhip into Burlington-Bay; and when the queen was landed, having intelligence that ſhe lodged in a houſe upon the key, he fired upon it, ſo that many of the ſhot went through her chamber; and ſhe was obliged, though very much indiſpoſed, to retire for ſafety into the open fields. This ſervice, which was performed in the month of February, was very grateful to the parliament, becauſe it ſhewed how much the officers of the fleet were in their intereſt.

While the preſbyterian party remained uppermoſt, all affairs relating to the navy went on ſmoothly. The earl of Warwick was entirely devoted to them, and ſo were all the officers by him appointed. Every ſummer a ſtout ſquadron was fitted out to ſerve as occaſion required, and by this means the trade of the nation was tolerably protected. But in the year 1648, when the independents came by their intrigues to prevail, things took a new turn, and it was reſolved to remove the earl of Warwick from his command, notwithſtanding the ſervices he had performed, and to make Colonel Rainſborough admiral. This gentleman had been bred a ſeaman, and was the ſon of a commander of diſtinction; but had for ſome time ſerved as an officer in the parliament-army, and was then a colonel of foot. When this news came to the fleet in the Downs, it put the ſeamen into great confuſion; and their officers, the earl of Warwick, and vice-admiral Batten, were ſo little pleaſed with the uſage they had met with, that inſtead of ſoftening, they augmented their diſcontents: inſomuch, that they ſeized upon Rainſborough, and ſuch officers as adhered to him, ſet them on ſhore, and reſolved to

ſail over to Holland, in order to take on board the duke of York, whom they called their admiral; becauſe the king's intention of making him ſo, was a thing generally known.

Though the king was then a priſoner, and his affairs reduced to a very low ebb, yet, if this revolt of the fleét had been properly managed, it might have had very happy effects: but as it was conducted, it is ſcarcely poſſible to conceive how little advantage was drawn from an incident which promiſed ſo much. The great misfortune was, that this ſtrange turn was entirely concerted by the ſeamen; ſo that when they declared for the king, they had very few officers among them; and as they were little inclined to uſe the advice of any who were not of their own profeſſion, there was a good deal of time loſt before they poſitively reſolved what to do. This gave the parliament an opportunity of recovering themſelves from the conſternation into which this unexpected event had thrown them; and the firſt reſolution they took was a very wiſe one, viz. the reſtoring the earl of Warwick to his title and command, ſending him orders to draw together a fleet as ſoon as poſſible.

It was about this time that the parliament, if the aſſembly which then met as one, could be conſidered as the national body, brought the king to a public trial; in conſequence of which he was executed at Whitehall, January 30th 1649: a tranſaction ſo ſingular in its nature, and ſo much being to be ſaid on both ſides; that it is not eaſy to decide on; nor can we pretend to enter on the merits of it in our brief narrative. Thus much however may be obſerved; that Charles did not ſuffer ſo extraordinary a fate, ſo much for violating the old conſtitution, as to make way for the introduction of a new one: one, which after the commotions ſo naturally to be expected, in ſuch an undertaking, has happily ſettled in that moderate frame of government, under which we now live. But to proceed in our detail.

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The parliament recovered their ſovereignty at ſea; where they kept ſuch ſtrong ſquadrons continually cruiſing, that it was not thought adviſeable for King Charles II. to venture his perſon on that element, in order to go to Ireland, where his preſence was neceſſary. Yet the earl of Warwick, who had ſerved them ſo faithfully, and with ſuch ſucceſs, was removed from the command of the fleet, which was put into the hands of land-officers, ſuch as Blake, Deane, and Popham; who, notwithſtanding, behaved well, quickly gained the love of the ſailors, and grew in a ſhort time very knowing ſeamen themſelves.

Blake was a man of heroic courage and a generous diſpoſition, the ſame perſon who had defended Lyme and Taunton with ſuch unſhaken obſtinacy againſt the king; and though he had hitherto been accuſtomed only to land ſervice, into which too he had not entered till paſt fifty years of age, he ſoon raiſed the naval glory of the nation to a higher pitch than it had ever attained in any former period. A fleet was committed to him; and he received orders to purſue Prince Rupert, to whom the king had given the command of that ſquadron, which had deſerted to him. Rupert took ſhelter in Kinſale; and eſcaping thence, fled toward the coaſt of Portugal. Blake purſued, and chaſed him into the Tagus; where he intended to attack that prince: but the king of Portugal, moved by the favour, which, throughout all Europe, attended the royal cauſe, refuſed Blake admittance, and aided Prince Rupert in making his eſcape. To be revenged of this partiality, the Engliſh admiral made prize of twenty Portugueſe ſhips richly laden, and threatened ſtill farther vengeance. The king of Portugal, dreading ſo dangerous a foe to his new acquired dominion, and ſenſible of the unequal conteſt, in which he was engaged, made all poſſible ſubmiſſions to the haughty republic, and was at laſt admitted to negotiate the renewal of his alliance with England. Prince Rupert, having loſt a great part of his ſqua-

dron on the coaſt of Spain, made ſail toward the Weſt Indies. His brother, Prince Maurice, was there ſhip-wrecked in a hurricane. Every where, this ſquadron ſubſiſted by privateering, ſometimes on Engliſh, ſometimes on Spaniſh veſſels. And Rupert at laſt returned to France; where he diſpoſed of the remnants of his fleet, together with all his prizes.

All the ſettlements in America, except New England, which had been planted entirely by the puritans, adhered to the royal party, even after the ſettlement of the republic; and Sir George Ayſcue was ſent with a ſquadron to reduce them to obedience. Bermudas, Antigua, Virginia, were ſoon ſubdued. Barbadoes, commanded by Lord Willoughby of Parham, made ſome reſiſtance; but was at laſt obliged to ſubmit.

With equal eaſe were Jerſey, Guernſey, Scilly, and the iſle of Man, brought under ſubjection to the republic; and the ſea, which had been much infeſted by privateers from theſe iſlands, was rendered entirely ſafe to the Engliſh commerce. The counteſs of Derby defended the iſle of Man; and with great reluctance yielded to the neceſſity of ſurrendring to the enemy. This lady, a daughter of the illuſtrious houſe of Trimoüille in France, had, during the civil wars, diſplayed a manly courage by her obſtinate defence of Latham Houſe againſt the parliamentary forces; and ſhe retained the glory of being the laſt perſon in the three kingdoms, and in all their dependant dominions, who ſubmitted to the victorious commonwealth.

The movements of great ſtates are often directed by as ſlender ſprings as thoſe of individuals. Though war with ſo conſiderable a naval power as the Dutch, who were in peace with all their other neighbours, might ſeem dangerous to the yet unſettled commonwealth, there were ſeveral motives, which at this time induced the Engliſh parliament to embrace hoſtile meaſures.

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The cauſes of this war are differently related, according to the humours and opinions of different writers: the truth, however, ſeems to be, that the old commonwealth grew quickly jealous of the new one, and began to apprehend, that, whatever the reſt of the world might be, Holland was like to be no gainer by this change of government in England. The parliament, on the other ſide, was no leſs jealous of its new acquired ſovereignty, and expected, therefore, extraordinary marks of regard from all the powers with which it correſponded. To divert the attention of the public from domeſtic quarrels toward foreign tranſactions, ſeemed alſo in the preſent diſpoſition of mens minds to be good policy. The ſuperior power of the Engliſh commonwealth, together with the advantages of ſituation, promiſed it ſucceſs; and the parliamentary leaders hoped to gain many rich prizes from the Dutch, to diſtreſs and ſink their flouriſhing commerce, and by victories to throw a luſtre on their eſtabliſhment, which was ſo new and unpopular.

To cover theſe hoſtile intentions, the parliament, under pretence of providing for the intereſts of commerce, embraced ſuch meaſures as they knew would give diſguſt to the States. They framed the famous act of navigation; which prohibited all nations to import into England in their bottoms any commodity, which was not the growth and manufacture of their own country. By this law, though the terms, in which it was conceived, were general, the Dutch were principally hurt; becauſe their country produces few commodities, and they ſubſiſt chiefly by being the general carriers and factors of the world. Letters of reprizal were granted to ſeveral merchants, who complained of injuries, which, as they pretended, they had received from the States; and above eighty Dutch ſhips fell into their hands, and were made prize of. The cruelties practiſed on the Engliſh at Amboyna, which were certainly enormous, but which

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ſeemed to be buried in oblivion by a thirty years ſilence, were again, with ſome other matters, made the grounds of complaint. The minds of men, in both ſtates, were every day more and more irritated againſt each other; and it was not long before theſe malignant humours broke forth into action.

Tromp, an admiral of great renown, received from the States the command of a fleet of forty-two ſail, in order to protect the Dutch navigation againſt the privateers of the Engliſh. He was forced by ſtreſs of weather, as he alleged, to take ſhelter in the road of Dover; where he met with Blake, who commanded an Engliſh fleet much inferior in number. Who was the aggreſſor in the action, which enſued between theſe two admirals, both of them men of ſuch prompt and fiery diſpoſitions, it is not eaſy to determine; ſince each of them ſent to his own ſtate a relation totally oppoſite in all its circumſtances to that of the other, and yet ſupported by the teſtimony of every captain in his fleet. Blake pretended, that, having given a ſignal to the Dutch admiral to ſtrike, Tromp, inſtead of complying, fired a broad-ſide at him. Tromp aſſerted, that he was preparing to ſtrike, and that the Engliſh admiral, nevertheleſs, began hoſtilities. It is certain, that the admiralty of Holland, who are diſtinct from the council of ſtate, had given Tromp no orders to ſtrike, but had left him to his own diſcretion with regard to that vain, but much conteſted ceremonial. They ſeemed willing to introduce the claim of an equality with the new commonwealth, and to interpret the former reſpect, which they had ever payed the Engliſh flag, as a deference due only to the monarchy. This circumſtance forms a ſtrong preſumption againſt the narrative of the Dutch admiral. The whole Orange party, it muſt be remarked, to which Tromp was ſuſpected to adhere, were deſirous of a war with England.

Blake, though his ſquadron conſiſted only of fifteen veſſels, re-inforced, after the battle began, by eight under

under Captain Bourne, maintained the fight with great bravery for five hours, and ſunk one ſhip of the enemy, and took another. Night parted the combatants, and the Dutch fleet retired toward the coaſt of Holland. The populace of London were enraged, and would have inſulted the Dutch ambaſſadors, who lived at Chelſea, had not the council of ſtate ſent guards to protect them.

When the States heard of this action, of which the fatal conſequences were eaſily foreſeen, they were in the utmoſt conſternation. They immediately diſpatched Paw, penſionary of Holland, as their ambaſſador extraordinary to London; and ordered him to lay before the parliament the narrative which Tromp had ſent of the late rencounter. They entreated them, by all the bands of their common religion, and common liberties, not to precipitate themſelves into hoſtile meaſures, but to appoint commiſſioners, who ſhould examine every circumſtance of the action, and clear up the truth, which lay in obſcurity. And they pretended, that they had given no orders to their admiral to offer any violence to the Engliſh, but would ſeverely puniſh him, if they found upon enquiry, that he had been guilty of an action, which they ſo much diſapproved. The parliament would hearken to none of theſe reaſons or remonſtrances. Elated with the numerous ſucceſſes, which they had obtained over their domeſtic enemies, they thought, that every thing muſt yield to their fortunate arms; and they gladly ſeized the opportunity, which they ſought, of making war upon the States. They demanded, that, without any farther delay or enquiry, reparation ſhould be made for all the damages which the Engliſh had ſuſtained. And when this demand was not complied with, they diſpatched orders for commencing war againſt the United Provinces.

Blake ſailed northward with a numerous fleet, and fell upon the herring buſſes, which were eſcorted by twelve men of war. All theſe he either took or diſperſed.

perſed. Tromp followed him with a fleet of above a hundred ſail. When theſe two admirals were within ſight of each other, and preparing for battle, a furious ſtorm attacked them. Blake took ſhelter in the Engliſh harbours. The Dutch fleet was diſperſed and received great damage.

Sir George Ayſcue, though he commanded only forty ſhips according to the Engliſh accounts, engaged near Plymouth the famous de Ruyter, who had under him fifty ſhips of war, with thirty merchant-men. The Dutch ſhips were indeed of inferior force to the Engliſh. De Ruyter, the only admiral in Europe, who has attained a renown equal to that of the greateſt general, defended himſelf ſo well, that Ayſcue gained no advantage over him. Night parted them in the greateſt heat of the action. De Ruyter next day ſailed off with his convoy. The Engliſh had been ſo ſhattered in the fight, that they were not able to purſue.

Near the coaſt of Kent, Blake, ſeconded by Bourne and Pen, met the Dutch fleet, nearly equal in number, commanded by de Witte and de Ruyter. A battle was fought much to the diſadvantage of the Dutch. Their rear-admiral was boarded and taken. Two other veſſels were ſunk, and one blown up. The Dutch fleet next day made ſail toward Holland.

The Engliſh were not ſo ſucceſsful in the Mediterranean. Van Galen with much ſuperior force attacked Captain Badily, and defeated him. He bought, however, his victory with the loſs of his life.

Sea-fights are ſeldom ſo deciſive as to diſable the vanquiſhed from making head in a little time againſt the victors. Tromp, ſeconded by de Ruyter, met near the Goodwins, with Blake, whoſe fleet was inferior to the Dutch; but who was reſolved not to decline the combat. A furious battle commenced, where the admirals on both ſides, as well as the inferior officers and ſeamen, exerted extraordinary bravery. In this action, the Dutch had the advantage. Blake himſelf

himſelf was wounded. The Garland and Bonaventure were taken. Two ſhips were burned, and one ſunk; and night came very opportunely to ſave the Engliſh fleet. After this victory, Tromp, in a bravado, fixed a broom to his main-maſt; as if he were reſolved to ſweep the ſea entirely of all Engliſh veſſels.

Great preparations were made in England, in order to wipe off this diſgrace. A gallant fleet of eighty ſail was fitted out. Blake commanded, and Dean under him, together with Monk, who had been ſent for from Scotland. When the Engliſh lay off Portland, they deſcried near break of day the Dutch fleet of ſeventy-ſix veſſels, ſailing up the channel, along with a convoy of 300 merchant-men, who had received orders to wait at the iſle of Rhé, till the fleet ſhould arrive to eſcort them. Tromp and de Ruyter commanded the Dutch. This battle was the moſt furious which had yet been fought, between theſe warlike and rival nations. Three days was the battle continued with the utmoſt rage and obſtinacy: and Blake, who was victor, gained not more honour than Tromp, who was vanquiſhed. The Dutch admiral made a ſkilful retreat, and ſaved all the merchant ſhips, except thirty. He loſt however eleven ſhips of war, had 2000 men ſlain, and 1500 taken priſoners. The Engliſh, though many of their ſhips were extreamly ſhattered, had but one ſunk. Their ſlain were not much inferior in number to thoſe of the enemy.

All theſe ſucceſſes of the Engliſh were chiefly owing to the ſuperior ſize of their veſſels; an advantage which all the ſkill and bravery of the Dutch admirals could not compenſate. By means of ſhip-money, an impoſition, which had been ſo much complained of, and in ſome reſpects with reaſon, the late king had put the navy into a ſituation, which it had never attained in any former reign: and he ventured to build ſhips of a ſize which was then unuſual. But the misfortunes which the Dutch met with in battle, were

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ſmall in compariſon of thoſe which their trade ſuſtained from the Engliſh. Their whole commerce by the Channel was cut off. Even that to the Baltic was much infeſted by the Engliſh privateers. Their fiſheries were totally ſuſpended. A great number of their ſhips, above 1600, had fallen into the enemy's hands. And all this diſtreſs they ſuffered, not for any national intereſt or neceſſity; but from vain points of honour and perſonal reſentments, of which it was difficult to give a ſatisfactory account to the public. They reſolved therefore to gratify the pride of the parliament, and to make ſome advances toward a peace. Their reception, however, was not favourable; and it was not without pleaſure, that they learned the diſſolution of that haughty aſſembly by the violence of Cromwel; an event from which they expected a more proſperous turn to their affairs.

The Dutch, however, did not inſtantly receive any great benefit from this ſudden revolution; but then it muſt be conſidered, that the chief officers of the fleet concurred in this meaſure. The government of the parliament, was a government of order and laws, (however they came by their authority) the government of the general, afterward protector, was entirely military: no wonder, therefore, that both the navy and the army were pleaſed with him. Some advantage, however, the enemy certainly reaped from this change in Engliſh affairs; for Van Tromp conveyed a great fleet of merchant-men to the north, (for they were now forced to try that rout rather than the channel) and though our navy followed him to the height of Aberdeen, yet it was to no purpoſe: he eſcaped them both going and coming back, which gave him an opportunity of coming into the Downs, making ſome prizes, and battering Dover caſtle. This ſcene of triumph laſted but a bare week; for Tromp came thither on the 26th of May, and on the laſt of that month he had intelligence, that Monk and Deane, who commanded the Engliſh fleet, were approaching,

and that their whole fleet conſiſted of ninety-five ſail of men of war, and five fire-ſhips. The Dutch had ninety-eight men of war, and ſix fire-ſhips; and both fleets were commanded by men the moſt remarkable for courage and conduct in either nation.

On the 2d of June in the morning, the Engliſh fleet diſcovered the enemy, whom they immediately attacked with great vigour. The action began about 11 o'clock; and the firſt broadſide from the enemy, carried off the brave admiral Deane, whoſe body was almoſt cut in two by a chain-ſhot. Monk, with much preſence of mind, covered his body with his cloak: and here appeared the wiſdom of having both admirals on board the ſame ſhip; for as no flag was taken in, the fleet had no notice of this accident, but the fight continued with the ſame warmth as if it had not happened. The fight continued very hot till three o'clock, when the Dutch fell into great confuſion, and Tromp ſaw himſelf obliged to make a kind of running fight till nine in the evening, when a ſtout ſhip, commanded by Cornelius van Velſen, blew up. This increaſed the conſternation in which they were before; and though Tromp uſed every method in his power to oblige the officers to do their duty, and even fired upon ſuch ſhips as drew out of the line; yet it was to no purpoſe, but rather ſerved to increaſe their misfortune. In the night, Blake arrived in the Engliſh fleet, with a ſquadron of eighteen ſhips, and ſo had his ſhare in the ſecond day's engagement.

Admiral Tromp did all that was conſiſtent with his honour, to avoid fighting the next day; but the Engliſh fleet came up with him again by eight in the morning, and engaged with the utmoſt fury for about four hours; and vice-admiral Penn boarded Tromp twice, and had taken him, if he had not been ſeaſonably relieved by de Witte and de Ruyter. At laſt the Dutch fell again into confuſion, which was ſo great, that a plain flight quickly followed; and they eſcaped to Zealand. Our writers agree, that the Dutch had

ſix of their beſt ſhips ſunk, two blown up, and eleven taken; ſix of their principal captains were made priſoners, and upward of fifteen hundred men. Among the ſhips before mentioned, one was a vice, and two were rear-admirals. We need not wonder then, that the Dutch, whilſt in ſuch circumſtances, ſent ambaſſadors into England, to negotiate a peace almoſt on any terms. Theſe Cromwell received with haughtineſs enough, talked high, and aſſumed to himſelf the credit of former victories, in which he could have little ſhare, but of which he very ably availed himſelf now. The States, however, were far from truſting entirely to negotiations; but at the time they treated, laboured with the utmoſt diligence to repair their paſt loſſes, and to fit out a new fleet. This was a very difficult taſk; and in order to effect it, they were forced to raiſe the ſeamens wages, though their trade was at a full ſtop: they came down in perſon to their ports, and ſaw their men embarked, and advanced them wages beforehand; and promiſed them, if they would fight once again, they would never aſk them to fight more. The ſcheme laid down by the States was this, that to force the Engliſh fleet to leave their ports, this navy of theirs ſhould come and block up ours. But firſt it was reſolved, Van Tromp ſhould ſail to the mouth of the Texel, where de Ruyter, with twenty-five ſail of ſtout ſhips, was kept in by the Engliſh fleet, in order to try if they might not be provoked to leave their ſtation, and give the Dutch ſquadron thereby an opportunity of coming out.

On the 29th of July 1653, the Dutch fleet appeared in ſight of the Engliſh, upon which the latter did their utmoſt to engage them: but Van Tromp, having in view the releaſe of de Witte, rather than fighting, kept off; ſo that it was ſeven at night before General Monk in the Reſolution, with about thirty ſhips, great and ſmall, came up with them, and charged through their fleet. It growing dark ſoon after, there paſſed nothing more that night, Monk

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ſailing to the ſouth, and Van Tromp to the northward; and this not being ſuſpected by the Engliſh, he both joined de Witte's ſquadron, and gained the weather-gage. The next day proving very foul and windy, the ſea ran ſo high, that it was impoſſible for the fleets to engage, the Engliſh particularly, finding it hard enough to avoid running upon the enemy's coaſts.

On Sunday July 31, the weather being become favourable, both fleets engaged with terrible fury. The battle laſted at leaſt eight hours, and was the moſt hard-fought of any that had happened throughout the war. The Dutch fire-ſhips were managed with great dexterity; many of the large veſſels in the Engliſh fleet were in the utmoſt danger of periſhing by them; and the Triumph was ſo effectually fired, that moſt of her crew threw themſelves into the ſea, and yet thoſe few who ſtaid behind, were ſo lucky as to put it out. Lawſon engaged de Ruyter briſkly, killed and wounded above half his men, and ſo diſabled his ſhip, that it was towed out of the fleet: yet the admiral did not leave the battle ſo, but returned in a galliot, and went on board another ſhip. About noon, Van Tromp was ſhot through the body with a muſket-ball, as he was giving orders. This miſerably diſcouraged his countrymen; ſo that by two, they began to fly in great confuſion, having but one flag ſtanding amongſt them. The lighteſt frigates in the Engliſh fleet purſued them cloſely, till the Dutch admiral, perceiving they were but ſmall, and of no great ſtrength, turned his helm, and reſolved to engage them; but ſome bigger ſhips coming into their aſſiſtance, the Dutchman was taken. It was night by that time their ſcattered fleet recovered the Texel.

This was a terrible blow to the Dutch, of whom, according to Monk's letter, no leſs than thirty ſhips were loſt; but, from better intelligence, it appeared, that four of theſe had eſcaped, two into a port of Zeland, and two into Hamburgh. Their loſs, however,

was very great: between four and five thouſand men killed, twenty-ſix ſhips of war either burnt or ſunk. On the ſide of the Engliſh, there were two ſhips only, viz. the Oak and the Hunter frigate burnt, and upward of five hundred ſeamen.

Some very ſingular circumſtances attended this extraordinary victory, and deſerve therefore to be mentioned. There were ſeveral merchant-men in the fleet, and Monk, finding occaſion to employ them, thought proper to ſend their captains to each other's ſhips, in order to take off their concern for their owners veſſels and cargoes; a ſcheme which anſwered his purpoſe perfectly well, no ſhips in the fleet behaving better. He had likewiſe iſſued his orders in the beginning of the fight, that they ſhould not either give or take quarter; which, however, were not ſo ſtrictly obſerved, but that twelve hundred Dutchmen were taken out of the ſea, while their ſhips were ſinking.

The parliament then ſitting, who were of Cromwell's appointment, upon the eighth of Auguſt 1653, ordered gold chains to be ſent to the generals Blake and Monk, and likewiſe to vice-admiral Penn, and rear-admiral Lawſon; they ſent alſo chains to the reſt of the flag-officers, and medals to the captains. The 25th of Auguſt was appointed for a day of ſolemn thankſgiving, and Monk being then in town, Cromwell, at a great feaſt in the city, put the gold chain about his neck, and obliged him to wear it all dinner-time. As for the States, they ſupported their loſs with inexpreſſible courage and conſtancy: they buried Tromp very magnificently at the public expence.

From the rigorous terms preſcribed by the parliament, the negotiation carried on by the Dutch miniſters at London, met at firſt with many difficulties: but an accident (if indeed the effect of Cromwell's intrigues ought to be called ſo) delivered them out of their diſtreſs. The parliament, on the 12th of December 1653, took a ſudden reſolution of delivering up their power to him from whom it came, viz. the

lord general Cromwell; who ſoon after took upon him the ſupreme magiſtracy, under the title of protector. He quickly admitted the Dutch to a treaty upon ſofter conditions, though he affected to make uſe of high terms; and this treaty ended in a peace, which was made the fourth of April 1654. In this negotiation it was in the firſt place ſtipulated, that ſuch as could be found of the perſons concerned in the maſſacre at Amboyna, ſhould be delivered up to juſtice. This was very ſpecious, and calculated to give the people a high idea of the protector's patriotiſm, who thus compelled the Dutch to make ſatisfaction for an offence, which the two former kings could never bring them to acknowlege. But as this article was never executed, ſo we may reaſonably conclude, that the Dutch knew the protector's mind before they made him this boaſted conceſſion. They acknowleged the dominion of the Engliſh at ſea, by conſenting to ſtrike the flag, ſubmitted to the act of navigation, undertook to give the Eaſt India company ſatisfaction for the loſſes they had ſuſtained; and by a private article bound themſelves, never to elect any of the houſe of Orange to the dignity of Stadtholder.

The war between England and Holland had not continued quite two years; and yet, in that time, the Engliſh took no leſs than one thouſand ſeven hundred prizes, valued by the Dutch themſelves at ſixty-two millions of guilders, or near ſix millions ſterling. On the contrary, thoſe taken by the Dutch could not amount to the fourth part, either in number or value. Within that ſpace the Engliſh were victorious in no leſs than five general battles, whereas the Hollanders cannot juſtly boaſt of having gained one. For the action between de Ruyter and Ayſcue, in which they pretended ſome advantage, was no general fight; and the advantage gained by Tromp in the Downs, is owned to have been gained over a part only of the Engliſh fleet. As ſhort as this quarrel was, it brought

the Dutch to greater extremities, than their fourſcore years war with Spain.

Hoſtilities between France and England ſtill continued; our ſhips of war taking, ſinking, or burning theirs wherever they met them; and the French privateers diſturbing our commerce as much as they were able. An attempt was made by the French miniſtry, to have got France, as well as Denmark, included in the peace made with the ſtates: but Cromwell would not hear of this, becauſe he knew how to make his advantage of the difficulties the French then laboured under another way; in which he ſucceeded perfectly well, obliging them in 1655, to ſubmit to his own terms, and to give up the intereſts of the royal family, notwithſtanding their near relation to the houſe of Bourbon. He likewiſe obtained a very advantageous treaty of commerce; and without queſtion his conduct with regard to France would have deſerved commendation, if, for the ſake of ſecuring his own government, he had not entered too readily into the views of cardinal Mazarine, and thereby contributed to the aggrandizing of a power which has been troubleſome to Europe ever ſince. It is generally ſuppoſed, that the primary as well as principal inſtigation to the Spaniſh war came from him; who gave the protector to underſtand, that the Engliſh maritime force could not be better employed, than in conquering part of the Spaniſh Weſt Indies, while France attacked the ſame crown in Europe; and to purchaſe his aſſiſtance, would readily relinquiſh the royal family, and ſo rid him from all fears of an invaſion.

No ſooner was the Dutch war ended, than the protector ordered his navy to be repaired, augmented, and put into good condition; whence it was evident enough, that he intended not to be idle, though no body knew againſt whom this new force was to be exerted. In the ſummer of the year 1654, he ordered two great fleets to be provided: and while he

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was making these preparations, all the neighbouring nations, ignorant of his intentions, remained in suspence, and looked with anxious expectation on what side the storm would discharge itself. One of the squadrons, consisting of thirty capital ships, was sent into the Mediterranean under Blake; whose fame was now spread over all Europe. No English fleet, except during the Croisades, had ever before sailed those seas; and from one extremity to the other, there was no naval force, Christian or Mahometan, able to resist them. The Roman pontiff, whose weakness and whose pride, equally provoke attacks, dreaded invasion from a power, which professed the most inveterate enmity against him; and which so little regulated its movements by the common motives of interest and prudence. Blake, casting anchor before Leghorn, demanded and obtained of the duke of Tuscany satisfaction for some losses, which the English commerce had formerly sustained from him. He next sailed to Algiers, and compelled the Dey to make peace; and to restrain his pyratical subjects from all farther violences on the English. He presented himself before Tunis, and having made the same demands, the Dey of that republic bade him look to the castles of Porto Farino and Goletta, and do his utmost. Blake needed not to be rouzed by such a bravado: he drew his ships close up to the castles, and tore them in pieces with his artillery. He sent a numerous detachment of seamen in their long-boats into the harbour, and burned every ship which lay there. This bold action, which its very temerity, perhaps, rendered safe, was executed with very little loss; and filled that part of the world with the renown of English valour.

The other squadron was not equally successful. It was commanded by Pen; and carried on board 4000 men, under the command of Venables. About 5000 more joined them from Barbadoes and St. Christophers. Both these officers were inclined to the king's

ſervice; and it is pretended, that Cromwel was obliged to hurry the ſoldiers on board, in order to prevent the execution of a conſpiracy, which had been formed among them, in favour of the exiled family. The ill ſucceſs of this enterprize, may juſtly be aſcribed, as much to the injudicious contrivance of the protector, who planned it, as to the bad execution of the officers, by whom it was conducted.

It was agreed by the admiral and general to attempt St. Domingo, the only place of ſtrength in the iſland of Hiſpaniola. On the approach of the Engliſh, the Spaniards in a fright deſerted their houſes, and fled into the woods. Contrary to the opinion of Venables, the ſoldiers were diſembarked without guides ten leagues diſtant from the town. They wandered four days through the woods without proviſions; and what was ſtill more intolerable in that ſultry climate, without water. The Spaniards gathered courage, and attacked them. The Engliſh, diſcouraged with the bad conduct of their officers, and ſcarce alive from hunger, thirſt, and fatigue, had no ſpirit to reſiſt. A very inconſiderable number of the enemy put the whole army to rout; killed 600 of them, and chaced the reſt on board their veſſels.

The Engliſh commanders, in order to atone, if poſſible, for this unproſperous attempt, bent their courſe to Jamaica, which was ſurrendered to them without a blow. Pen and Venables returned to England, and were both of them ſent to the Tower by the protector, who, though commonly maſter of his fiery temper, was thrown into a violent paſſion at this diſappointment. He had made a conqueſt of much greater importance, than he was himſelf at that time aware of; yet was it much inferior to the vaſt projects, which he had formed. He gave orders, however, to ſupport it by men and money; and that iſland has ever ſince remained in the hands of the Engliſh: the chief acquiſition which they owe to the enterpriſing ſpirit of Cromwel.

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As ſoon as the news of this enterprize, which was a moſt unwarrantable violation of treaty, arrived in Europe, the Spaniards declared war againſt England; and ſeized all the ſhips and goods of Engliſh merchants, of which they could make themſelves maſters. The Spaniſh commerce, ſo profitable to the nation, was cut off; and near 1500 veſſels, it is computed, fell in a few years into the hands of the enemy. Blake, to whom Montague was now joined in command, after receiving new orders, prepared himſelf for hoſtilities againſt the Spaniards.

Blake lay ſome time off Cadiz, in expectation of intercepting the plate-fleet; but was obliged, for want of water, to make ſail toward Portugal. Captain Steyner, whom he had left on the coaſt with a ſquadron of ſeven veſſels, came in ſight of the galleons, and immediately ſet ſail to purſue them. The Spaniſh admiral ran his ſhip aſhore; two others followed his example: the Engliſh took two ſhips, valued at near two millions of pieces of eight: two galleons were ſet on fire; and the marquis of Bajadox, viceroy of Peru, with his wife and his daughter, betrothed to the young duke of Medina Celi, were deſtroyed in them. The marquis himſelf might have eſcaped; but ſeeing theſe unfortunate women, aſtoniſhed with the danger, fall in a ſwoon, and periſh in the flames, he choſe rather to die with them, than drag out a life, embittered with the remembrance of theſe diſmal ſcenes. When the treaſures, gained by this enterprize, arrived at Portſmouth, the protector, from a ſpirit of oſtentation, ordered them to be tranſported by land to London.

The next action againſt the Spaniards was more glorious, though leſs profitable to the nation. Blake, having heard that a Spaniſh fleet of ſixteen ſhips, much richer than the former, had taken ſhelter in the Canaries, immediately made ſail toward them. He found them in the bay of Santa Cruz, diſpoſed in a moſt formidable poſture. The bay was ſecured

with a ſtrong caſtle, well fortified with cannon; beſide ſeven forts in ſeveral parts of it, all united by a line of communication, manned with muſqueteers. Don Diego Diagues, the Spaniſh admiral, ordered all his ſmaller veſſels to moor cloſe to the ſhore; and poſted the larger galleons farther off, at anchor, with their broadſides to the ſea.

Blake was rather animated, than daunted with this appearance. The wind ſeconded his courage; and blowing full into the bay, in a moment brought him among the thickeſt of his enemies. After a reſiſtance of four hours, the Spaniards yielded to the Engliſh valour; and abandoned their ſhips, which were ſet on fire, and conſumed with all their treaſures. The greateſt danger ſtill remained to the Engliſh. They lay under the fire of the caſtles and all the forts, which muſt, in a little time, have torn them in pieces. But the wind ſuddenly ſhifting, carried them out of the bay; where they left the Spaniards in aſtoniſhment at the happy temerity of their audacious victors.

This was the laſt and greateſt action of the gallant Blake. He was conſumed with a dropſy and ſcurvy, and haſtened home, that he might yield up his laſt breath in his native country; which he ſo paſſionately loved, and which he had ſo much adorned by his valour. As he came within ſight of land, he expired. Never man, ſo zealous for a faction, was ſo much reſpected and eſteemed even by the oppoſite factions. He was by principle an inflexible republican; and the late uſurpations, amidſt all the truſt and careſſes which he received from the ruling powers, were thought to be very little grateful to him. "It is ſtill our duty (he ſaid to the ſeamen) to fight for our country, into whatever hands the government may fall." Diſintereſted, generous, liberal; ambitious only of true glory; dreadful only to his avowed enemies: he forms one of the moſt perfect characters of that age, and the leaſt ſtained with thoſe errors and violences, which were then ſo predominant. The

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protector ordered him a pompous funeral at the public charge: but the tears of his countrymen were the moſt honourable panegyric on his memory.

When the confuſions of a diſtracted ſtate, rendered the reſtoration of the king, the moſt eligible alternative; the ſeamen ſhewed greater readineſs than any other ſort of men to execute this ſalutary deſign: and without waiting for any farther orders, than thoſe which came from their own officers, chearfully carried the fleet over to the Dutch coaſt; where, after giving new names to the ſhips, they received his majeſty, the duke of York, and other perſons of principal quality, who had attended him, on board, the 23d of May, 1660, and ſafely landed them in Kent. For this ſervice, Mr. Montague, who commanded that fleet, was created earl of Sandwich; had a garter, and was appointed vice-admiral of England, under his royal highneſs the duke of York. Sir John Lawſon, Sir Richard Stayner, and other officers, received the honour of knighthood; and the king was pleaſed to promiſe the ſeamen in general, a particular ſhare in his favour. In September, 1660, the earl of Sandwich went, with a ſquadron of nine men of war, to Helvoetſluys, to bring over the king's ſiſter, the princeſs of Orange; who not long after died.

A treaty of marriage having been concluded between his majeſty and the infanta of Portugal, with whom he was to receive a portion of three hundred thouſand pounds, the iſland of Bombay in the Eaſt Indies, and the city of Tangier in Africa; it became neceſſary to ſend a fleet to bring over the queen, and to ſecure the laſt mentioned city againſt any attempt from the Moors. For this purpoſe, the earl of Sandwich was again ſent with a numerous fleet, which ſailed on the 19th of June, 1661, from the Downs. His lordſhip ſailed firſt to Liſbon, and from thence to Tangier; which place was put into the hands of the Engliſh on the 30th of January, 1662, when the earl of Peterborough marched into it with an Engliſh garriſon,

garriſon, and had the keys delivered to him by the Portugueſe governor. The admiral then returned to Liſbon, where he received the queen's portion; conſiſting in money, jewels, ſugars, and other commodities, in bills of exchange, and then ſailed with her majeſty for England, and arrived at Spithead the 14th of May, 1662.

It is apparent that there was no occaſion for ſo large a fleet, merely to bring over the queen; but as it afforded a fair pretence for ſending ſuch a force into the Mediterranean, this opportunity was ſeized to execute things of greater moment. The Algerines, and other pyratical ſtates of Barbary, taking advantage of our inteſtine confuſions, had broke the peace they made with admiral Blake. To put an end to their depredations, the earl of Sandwich, with his fleet, came before Algiers the 29th of July, 1661, and ſent captain Spragge with the king's letter to the principal perſon in the government, and a letter of his own, with orders alſo to bring off Mr. Brown, the conſul; which was accordingly done. Anſwer was returned, that the government of Algiers would conſent to no peace, whereby they were deprived of the right of ſearching our ſhips. This inſolence of theſe ſea-robbers ſprung out of the jealouſy of the chriſtian powers, who would never unite to cruſh this neſt of pirates, and give the beautiful and rich country they inhabit to ſome prince of their own faith; which would be a common benefit to all commercial nations.

In the mean time, to ſhew they were in earneſt, they wrought very hard at a boom, which, with much ado, they brought over from the mole-head, to the oppoſite corner of the port; that, by the help of this, and many other new works which they had raiſed, they might be able to defend themſelves from any attempts that could be made by ſea. The earl of Sandwich, however, reſolved to make a bold trial to burn the ſhips in the harbour; but the wind prevented him:

him: ſo that after a good deal of firing on both ſides, wherein more hurt was done to the city than the ſhips, the admiral thought fit to ſail for Liſbon on the firſt of Auguſt, leaving Sir John Lawſon, with a ſtrong ſquadron to protect the Engliſh trade, and harraſs the enemy. This he performed with ſuch ſucceſs, that, after taking many of their ſhips, he, by degrees, forced all theſe pyratical ſtates to conclude a peace with Great Britain, without any reſervation as to their favourite article of ſearching our ſhips.

On his firſt return to the throne of his anceſtors, king Charles and his miniſters had certainly ſhewn a great concern for the true intereſt of the nation; as will appear to any attentive reader of our hiſtory, who obſerves the advantages we gained by the treaties of commerce which he concluded with Spain and Holland. He alſo reſtored to the nation the advantages they drew from the Spaniſh trade: and the affection of this people to the Engliſh, preferable to any other nation, appeared in this, that they immediately fell out with the Dutch, and even forbade their ſhips of war to enter their ports, as the Dutch writers themſelves tell us. The treaty with Holland not only ſecured the reſpect due to the Engliſh flag, but likewiſe procured ſome other conceſſions very honourable for the nation, and the iſland of Poleron, more correctly Pulo-Ron, i. e. the iſle of Ron, for the Eaſt India company. His majeſty had alſo an intention to have ſecured abſolutely and for ever the fiſhery on the Britiſh coaſt to his own ſubjects: but, before that could be effectually done, the war broke out; for the true grounds of which, it is not eaſy to account.

The Dutch quickly began to conceive jealous prejudices againſt the king's government; and in reality to apprehend our becoming their ſuperiors in commerce, in which we were every day viſibly increaſing. Theſe ſentiments engaged them, and eſpecially their Eaſt and Weſt India companies, to take various ſteps in thoſe parts of the world to the prejudice of the

Engliſh.

Engliſh. The Eaſt India company particularly delayed the liquidation of the damages the Engliſh were to receive; peremptorily refuſed to deliver up the iſland before mentioned: and pretended to preſcribe the places where, and the terms on which the Engliſh ſhould trade in the reſt of the ports of India. The other company trod exactly in their ſteps; and proceeded ſo far as to get Cape Corſe-caſtle into their hands, which belonged to the Engliſh African company.

Charles confined not himſelf to memorials and remonſtrances. Sir Robert Holmes was ſecretly diſpatched with a ſquadron of twenty-two ſhips to the coaſt of Africa. He not only expelled the Dutch from Cape Corſe, but he likewiſe ſeized the Dutch ſettlements of Cape Verde and the iſle of Goree, together with ſeveral ſhips trading on that coaſt. And having ſailed to America, he poſſeſſed himſelf of Nova Belgia, ſince called New York; a territory which James the firſt had given by patent to the earl of Sterling, but which had never been planted but by the Hollanders. When the ſtates complained of theſe hoſtile meaſures, the king pretended to be totally ignorant of Holmes's enterprize. He likewiſe confined Holmes to the Tower; but ſome time after reſtored him to his liberty.

The Dutch, finding that their applications for redreſs were likely to be eluded, and that a ground of quarrel was induſtriouſly ſought for by the Engliſh, began to arm with diligence. They even exerted, with ſome precipitation, an act of vigour, which haſtened on the rupture. Sir John Lawſon and de Ruyter had been ſent with combined ſquadrons into the Mediterranean, in order to chaſtiſe the pyratical ſtates on the coaſt of Barbary; and the time of their ſeparation and return was now approaching. The ſtates ſecretly diſpatched orders to de Ruyter, that he ſhould take in proviſions at Cadiz; and ſailing toward the coaſt of Guinea, ſhould retaliate on the Engliſh,

liſh, and put the Dutch in poſſeſſion of thoſe ſettlements whence Holmes had expelled them. De Ruyter, having a conſiderable force on board, met with no oppoſition in Guinea. All the new acquiſitions of the Engliſh, except Cape Corſe, were recovered from them: they were even diſpoſſeſſed of ſome old ſettlements. Such of their ſhips as fell into his hands, were ſeized by de Ruyter. That admiral ſailed next to America: he attacked Barbadoes, but was repulſed: he afterward committed hoſtilities on Long Iſland.

Meanwhile, the Engliſh preparations for war were advancing with vigour and induſtry. The king had received no ſupplies from parliament; but by his own funds and credit, he was enabled to equip a fleet: the city of London lent him 100,000 pounds: the ſpirit of the nation ſeconded his armaments: he himſelf went from port to port, inſpecting with great diligence, and encouraging the work: and in a little time the Engliſh navy was put in a very formidable condition. Eight hundred thouſand pounds are ſaid to have been expended on this armament. When Lawſon arrived, and communicated his ſuſpicion of de Ruyter's enterpriſe, orders were iſſued for ſeizing all Dutch ſhips; and 135 fell into the hands of the Engliſh. Theſe were not confiſcated, nor declared prizes, till afterward, when war was proclaimed.

The Dutch ſaw, with the utmoſt regret, a war approaching, whence they might dread the moſt fatal conſequences, but which afforded no proſpect of advantage. They tried every art of negotiation, before they would come to extremity. Their meaſures were at that time directed by John de Wit; a miniſter equally eminent for greatneſs of mind, for capacity, and for integrity. By his management, a ſpirit of union was preſerved in all the provinces; great ſums were levied; and a navy was equipped, compoſed of larger ſhips than the Dutch had ever built before, and able to cope with the fleet of England.

ſun, fell down by imbibing the moiſture; and had the drops been either larger, or the ſhower of a longer continuance, the whole city would doubtleſs have diſſolved and dropt to pieces. In the other parts, the firſt rains fall in September and October, after which the Arabs break up the ground, and begin to ſow wheat, and plant beans, &c. If the latter rains fall in the middle of April, as they uſually do, the crop is reckoned ſecure; the harveſt following in the latter end of May, or the beginning of June.

The country produces ſeveral kinds of grain, beſide all thoſe of Europe, except oats; particularly rice and a white ſort of millet, with ſome ſorts of pulſe unknown in England. The Moors and Arabs ſtill continue to follow the primitive cuſtom of the Eaſt in treading out their corn, which is a quicker but leſs cleanly method than ours: for this being done upon a level piece of ground, only daubed over with cow-dung, a great deal of earth and gravel muſt unavoidably be gathered up with the grain; beſide, all the ſtraw is broke to pieces. After the grain is trodden out, it is only winnowed, by throwing it into the wind with ſhovels; it is then lodged in ſubterraneous magazines, two or three hundred of which I have ſometimes ſeen together, and the ſmalleſt of them would contain four hundred buſhels.

Proviſions of all kinds are ſold extreamly cheap. You may have a large piece of bread, a bundle of turnips, or a ſmall baſket of fruit, for the 696 part of a dollar, of 3 s. 6 d. of our money. Fowls are frequently bought for three half-pence apiece; a ſheep for 3 s. 6 d. and a cow and a calf for a guinea. It is happy for theſe people, that one year with another they can have a buſhel of the beſt wheat for fifteen or eighteen pence: for the inhabitants of theſe countries, as well as the eaſtern nations in general, are great eaters of bread; three perſons in four living entirely upon it, or upon ſuch compoſitions as are made of wheat and barley flour.

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In cities and villages, the bread is uſually leavened and baked in public ovens; but among the Bedoweens, the dough is no ſooner kneaded than it is made into thin cakes, which are either immediately baked on the coals, or fryed in a pan with butter.

All the fruits of Europe, beſide thoſe found in Egypt, are produced here, except the hazel-nut, the filbert, the gooſeberry and currant-tree. But their gardens are laid out without method and deſign, and are a confuſed medley of trees, with beds of cabbages, turnips, beans, and ſometimes of wheat and barley diſperſed among them. Fine walks, and parterres, they would conſider as the loſs of ſo much ſoil; and the ſtudy of new improvements, they would regard as ſo many deviations from the practice of their anceſtors, which they follow with the utmoſt reverence.

Lead and iron are the only metals diſçovered in theſe countries. The latter is white and good, though in no great quantity; it being dug and forged by the Kabyles in the mountainous diſtrict of Boujeiah, and brought in ſhort bars to the market of Algiers. It will not be improper to relate here the ſtory the people tell of the plough-ſhares of Mahomet bey of Tunis. This perſon had the misfortune to be dethroned by his ſubjects; but having the reputation of being acquainted with the philoſopher's ſtone, Ibrahim Hojiah, dey of Algiers, engaged to reſtore him to his former dignity, upon promiſe of being let into the ſecret. The affair was accordingly agreed upon, and Mahomet was reſtored; when to fulfil his promiſe, he ſent the dey of Algiers, with great pomp and ceremony, a number of mattocks and plough-ſhares: thus emblematically inſtructing him, that the wealth of his kingdom was to ariſe from a diligent attendance upon agriculture and huſbandry; and that the only philoſopher's ſtone he could acquaint him

what is more probable, from his avidity in endeavouring to engroſs the whole booty, the Engliſh admiral, though he behaved with great bravery, failed of his purpoſe. The Daniſh governor fired upon him; and the Dutch, having had leiſure to fortify themſelves, made a very gallant reſiſtance.

The king of Denmark, ſeemingly aſhamed of his conduct, concluded with Sir Gilbert Talbot, the Engliſh envoy, an offenſive alliance againſt the States; and at the very ſame time, his reſident at the Hague, by his orders, concluded an offenſive alliance againſt England. To this laſt alliance he adhered, probably from jealouſy of the increaſing naval power of England; and he ſeized and confiſcated all the Engliſh ſhips in his harbours. This was a very ſenſible check to the advantages which Charles had obtained over the Dutch; a great blow was given to the Engliſh commerce: the king of Denmark's naval force was alſo conſiderable, and threatened every moment a conjunction with the Hollanders. That prince ſtipulated to aſſiſt his allies with a fleet of thirty ſail; and he received in return a yearly ſubſidy of 1,500,000 crowns, of which 300,000 were paid by France.

The king endeavoured to counterbalance theſe confederacies, by acquiring new friends and allies. He had diſpatched Sir Richard Fanſhaw into Spain, who met with a very cold reception. That monarchy was ſunk into a great degree of weakneſs, and was menaced with an invaſion from France; yet could not any motive prevail with Philip to enter into a cordial friendſhip with England. Charles's alliance with Portugal, the detention of Jamaica and Tangiers, the ſale of Dunkirk to the French; all theſe offences ſunk ſo deep into the mind of the Spaniſh monarch, that no motive of intereſt was ſufficient to outweigh them. The biſhop of Munſter was the only ally that Charles could acquire.

The Dutch, encouraged by all theſe favourable circumſtances, continued reſolute to exert themſelves

to

to the utmoſt in their own defence. De Ruyter, their great admiral, was arrived from his expedition to Guinea; their India fleet was come home in ſafety; their harbours were crowded with merchant ſhips; faction at home was appeaſed; the young prince of Orange had put himſelf under the tuition of the ſtates of Holland, and of de Wit, their penſionary, who executed his truſt with great honour and fidelity: and the animoſity which the Hollanders entertained againſt the attack of the Engliſh ſo unprovoked, as they thought it, made them thirſt for revenge, and hope for better ſucceſs in their next enterprize. Such vigour was exerted in the common cauſe, that, in order the better to man the fleet, all merchant ſhips were prohibited to ſail, and even the fiſheries were totally ſuſpended.

The Engliſh likewiſe continued in the ſame diſpoſition, though another more grievous calamity had joined itſelf to that of war. The plague had broke out in London; and that with ſuch violence as to cut off, in leſs than a year, near 100,000 inhabitants. The king was obliged to ſummon the parliament at Oxford.

After France had declared war, England was evidently over-matched in force. Yet ſhe poſſeſſed this advantage by her ſituation, that ſhe lay between the fleets of her enemies; and might be able, by ſpeedy and well-concerted operations, to prevent their junction. But ſuch was the unhappy conduct of her commanders, or ſuch the want of intelligence in her miniſters, that this circumſtance turned rather to her prejudice. Lewis had given orders to the duke of Beaufort, his admiral, to ſail from Toulon; and the French ſquadron, under his command, conſiſting of above forty ſail, was now commonly ſuppoſed to be entering the channel. The Dutch fleet, to the number of ſeventy-ſix ſail, was at ſea, under the command of de Ruyter and Tromp, in order to join him. The Duke of Albemarle and prince Rupert commanded

the Engliſh fleet, which exceeded not ſeventy-four ſail. Albemarle, who, from his ſucceſſes under the protectorſhip, had too much learned to deſpiſe the enemy, propoſed to detach prince Rupert with twenty ſhips, in order to oppoſe the duke of Beaufort. Sir George Ayſcue, well acquainted with the bravery and conduct of de Ruyter, proteſted againſt the temerity of this reſolution: but Albemarle's authority prevailed. The remainder of the Engliſh ſet ſail to give battle to the Dutch; who, ſeeing the enemy advance quickly upon them, cut their cables, and prepared for the combat. The battle, which enſued, is one of the moſt memorable which we read of in hiſtory; whether we conſider its duration, or the deſperate courage with which it was fought. Albemarle made here ſome atonement by his valour for the raſhneſs of the attempt. No youth, animated by glory and ambitious hopes, could exert himſelf more than did this man; who was now in the decline of life, and who had reached the ſummit of honours. We cannot enter minutely into particulars. It will be ſufficient to mention the chief events of each day's engagement.

In the firſt day, Sir William Berkeley, vice-admiral, leading the van, fell into the thickeſt of the enemy, was over-powered, and his ſhip taken. He himſelf was found dead in his cabin, all covered with blood. The Engliſh had the weather-gage of the enemy; but as the wind blew ſo high, that they could not uſe their lower tire, they received ſmall advantage from this circumſtance. The Dutch ſhot, however, fell chiefly on their ſails and rigging; and few ſhips were ſunk or much damaged. Chain-ſhot was at that time a new invention; which is commonly attributed to de Wit. Sir John Harman exerted himſelf extreamly this day. The Dutch admiral, Evertz, was killed in engaging him. Darkneſs parted the combatants.

The second day, the wind was somewhat fallen, and the combat became more steady and more terrible. The English now found, that the most heroic valour cannot compensate the superiority of numbers, against an enemy who is well conducted, and who is not defective in courage. De Ruyter and Van Tromp, rivals in glory, and enemies from faction, exerted themselves in emulation of each other; and de Ruyter had the advantage of disengaging and saving his antagonist, who had been surrounded by the English, and was in the most imminent danger. Sixteen fresh ships joined the Dutch fleet during the action: and the English were so shattered, that their fighting ships were reduced to twenty-eight, and they found themselves obliged to retreat toward their own coast. The Dutch followed them, and were just on the point of renewing the combat; when a calm, which came a little before night, prevented the engagement.

Next morning, the English were necessitated to continue their retreat; and a proper disposition was made for that purpose. The shattered ships were ordered to stretch a-head; and sixteen of the most entire followed them in good order, and kept the enemy in awe. Albemarle himself closed the rear, and presented an undaunted countenance to his victorious foes. The earl of Ossory, son to Ormond, a gallant youth, who sought honour and danger in every action throughout Europe, was then on board the admiral. Albemarle confessed to him his intention rather to blow up his ship and perish gloriously, than yield to the enemy. Ossory applauded this desperate resolution.

About two o'clock, the Dutch had come up with their enemy, and were ready to renew the fight; when a new fleet was descried from the south, crowding all their sails to reach the scene of action. The Dutch flattered themselves that Beaufort was arrived, to cut off the retreat of the vanquished: the English hoped, that prince Rupert had come to turn the scale of ac-

tion. Albemarle, who had received intelligence of the prince's approach, bent his courſe toward him. Unhappily, Sir George Ayſcue, in a ſhip of a hundred guns, the largeſt in the fleet, ſtruck on the Galloper ſands, and could receive no aſſiſtance from his friends, who were haſtening to join the reinforcement. He could not even reap the conſolation of periſhing glorioufly, and revenging his death on his enemies. They were preparing fireſhips to attack him, and he was obliged to ſtrike. The Engliſh ſailors, ſeeing the neceſſity, with the utmoſt indignation ſurrendered themſelves priſoners.

Albemarle and prince Rupert were now determined to face the enemy; and next morning, the battle began afreſh, with more equal force, and with equal valour. After long cannonading, the fleets came to a more cloſe combat; which was continued with great violence, till parted by a miſt. The Engliſh retired firſt into their harbours.

Though the Engliſh, by their obſtinate courage, reaped the chief honour in this engagement, it is ſomewhat uncertain, who obtained the victory. The Hollanders took a few ſhips; and having ſome appearances of advantage, expreſſed their ſatisfaction by all the ſigns of triumph and rejoicing. But as the Engliſh fleet was repaired in a little time, and put to ſea more formidable than ever, together with many of thoſe ſhips which the Dutch had boaſted to have burned or deſtroyed; all Europe ſaw, that thoſe two brave nations were engaged in a conteſt, which was not likely to prove deciſive.

It was the conjunction of the French alone, which could give the ſuperiority to the Dutch. In order to facilitate this junction, de Ruyter, having repaired the fleet, poſted himſelf at the mouth of the Thames. The Engliſh, under prince Rupert and Albemarle, were not long in coming to the attack. The numbers of each fleet amounted to about eighty ſail; and the valour and experience of the commanders, as well

well as of the ſeamen, rendered the engagement fierce and obſtinate. Sir Thomas Allen, who commanded the white ſquadron of the Engliſh, attacked the Dutch van, whom he entirely routed; and he killed the three admirals who commanded it. Van Tromp engaged Sir Jeremy Smith; and during the heat of action, he was ſeparated from de Ruyter and the main body, whether by accident or deſign was never certainly known. De Ruyter, with great conduct and valour, maintained the combat againſt the main body of the Engliſh; and though over-powered by numbers, kept his ſtation, till night ended the engagement. Next day, finding the Dutch fleet ſcattered and diſcouraged, his high ſpirit was obliged to ſubmit to a retreat; which yet he conducted with ſuch ſkill, as to render it equally honourable to himſelf as the greateſt victory. Full of indignation however for yielding the ſuperiority to the enemy, he frequently exclaimed, "My God! what a wretch am I? among "ſo many thouſand bullets, there is not one to put "an end to my miſerable life!" One de Witte, his ſon-in-law, who ſtood near, exhorted him, ſince he ſought death, to turn upon the Engliſh, and render his life a dear purchaſe to the victors. But de Ruyter eſteemed it more worthy a brave man to perſevere to the uttermoſt, and, as long as poſſible, to render ſervice to his country. All that night and next day, the Engliſh preſſed upon the rear of the Dutch; and it was chiefly by the redoubled efforts of de Ruyter, that the latter ſaved themſelves in their harbours.

The loſs of the Hollanders in this action was not very conſiderable; but as violent animoſities had broke out between the two admirals, who engaged all the officers on one ſide or other, the conſternation which took place, was very great among the provinces. Tromp's commiſſion was at laſt taken from him; but though ſeveral captains had miſbehaved, they were ſo well protected by their friends in the magiſtracy

of the towns, that moſt of them eſcaped puniſhment: many were ſtill continued in their commands.

The Engliſh now rode inconteſtible maſters of the ſea, and inſulted the Dutch in their harbours. A detachment under Holmes was ſent into the road of Vlie, and burned a hundred and forty merchantmen, two men of war, together with Bandaris, a large and rich village on the coaſt. The merchants, who loſt by this enterprize, uniting themſelves to the Orange faction, exclaimed againſt an adminiſtration, which, they pretended, had brought ſuch diſgrace and ruin on their country. None, but the firm and intrepid mind of de Wit, coul'd have ſupported itſelf under ſuch a complication of calamities.

The deſtroying the Dutch ſhips, and the burning the town of Bandaris, though done by Engliſhmen, was no Engliſh project. One captain Heemſkerk, a Dutchman, who fled hither, for fear of his being called to an account for miſbehaviour under Opdam, was the author of that diſmal ſcene. After the return of the fleet, he was one day at court, and boaſting, in the hearing of king Charles the ſecond, of the bloody revenge he had taken upon his country: that monarch, with a ſtern countenance, bid him withdraw, and never preſume to appear again in his preſence. He ſent him, however, a very conſiderable ſum of money for the ſervice; with which he retired to Venice. This inſtance of magnanimity, in that generous prince, has been long and highly applauded by the Dutch.

As ſoon as the fleet was ready, the command was beſtowed on Michael de Ruyter; Tromp having at that time, in conſequence of his diſpute with de Ruyter, laid down his commiſſion. This navy conſiſted of ſeventy-nine men of war and frigates, and twenty-ſeven fire-ſhips. The firſt deſign they had, was to join the French ſquadron, which Louis XIV. had promiſed to fit out for their aſſiſtance; in this they were moſt egregiouſly diſappointed, and after a dangerous

gerous navigation, in which they were more than once chaſed by a ſuperior Engliſh fleet, they were glad to return, though fired with indignation at ſuch uſage: which, it is ſaid, wrought ſo powerfully on the mind of the gallant de Ruyter, as to throw him into a fit of ſickneſs.

When the French thought the coaſt was become pretty clear, they ventured out with their fleet; but Sir Thomas Allen attacking them with his ſquadron, boarded the Ruby, a fine ſhip of a thouſand tons, and fifty-four guns, and carrying her in a ſhort time, it ſo diſcouraged the French miniſtry, that they ſcarcely truſted their navy afterward out of ſight of their own ſhores.

Charles began to be ſenſible, that all the ends for which the war had been undertaken, were likely to prove entirely ineffectual. The Dutch, even when alone, had defended themſelves with great vigour, and were every day improving their military ſkill and preparations. Though their trade had ſuffered extreamly, their extenſive credit enabled them to levy prodigious ſums; and while the ſeamen of England loudly complained for want of pay, the Dutch navy was regularly ſupplied with every thing requiſite for its ſubſiſtence. As two powerful kings now ſupported them, every place, from the extremity of Norway to the coaſts of Bayonne, was become hoſtile to the Engliſh. And Charles, neither fond of action, nor ſtimulated by any violent ambition, gladly ſought for means of reſtoring tranquillity to his people; heartily diſguſted with a war, which, being joined with the plague and fire of London, had proved ſo fruitleſs and deſtructive.

The firſt advances toward an accommodation were made by England. When the king ſent for the body of Sir William Berkeley, he inſinuated to the ſtates his deſire of peace on reaſonable terms; and their anſwer correſponded in the ſame amicable intentions. Charles, however, to maintain the appearance of ſuperiority,

ſtill inſiſted, that the ſtates ſhould treat at London; and they agreed to make him this compliment ſo far as concerned themſelves: but being engaged in an alliance with two crowned heads, they could not, they ſaid, prevail with theſe to depart in that reſpect from their dignity. It was in the end agreed to treat at ſome other place; and Charles made choice of Breda.

Whatever projects might have been formed by Charles for ſecreting the money granted him by parliament, he had hitherto failed in his intention. The expences of ſuch vaſt armaments had exhauſted all the ſupplies; and even a great debt was contracted to the ſeamen. The king therefore was reſolved to ſave, as far as poſſible, the laſt ſupply of 1,800,000 pounds; and to employ it for payment of his debts, as well thoſe occaſioned by the war, as thoſe which either neceſſity, pleaſure, or generoſity, had formerly engaged him to contract. In this ſituation, Charles raſhly remitted his preparations, and expoſed England to one of the greateſt affronts, which it has ever received. Two ſmall ſquadrons alone were equipped; and during a war with ſuch potent and martial enemies, every thing was left almoſt in the ſame ſituation as in times of the moſt profound tranquillity.

De Wit protracted the negotiations at Breda, and haſtened the naval preparations. The Dutch fleet appeared in the Thames under the command of de Ruyter, and threw the Engliſh into the utmoſt conſternation. A chain had been drawn croſs the river Medway; ſome fortifications had been added to Sheerneſs and Upnore caſtle: but all theſe preparations were unequal to the preſent neceſſity. Sheerneſs was ſoon taken; nor could it be ſaved by the valour of Sir Edward Spragge, who defended it. Having the advantage of a ſpring-tide, and an eaſterly wind, the Dutch preſſed on, and broke the chain, though fortified by ſome ſhips, which had been there ſunk by order of the duke of Albemarle. They burned the

three ſhips, which lay to guard the chain, the Matthias, the Unity, and the Charles the Fifth. After damaging ſeveral veſſels, and poſſeſſing themſelves of the hull of the Royal Charles, which the Engliſh had burned, they advanced with ſix men of war and five fire-ſhips, as far as Upnore-caſtle, where they burned the Royal Oak, the Loyal London, and the Great James. Captain Douglas, who commanded on board the Royal Oak, periſhed in the flames, though he had an eaſy opportunity of eſcaping. "Never was it known," he ſaid, "that a Douglas "had left his poſt without orders." The Hollanders fell down the Medway without receiving any conſiderable damage; and it was apprehended, that they might next tide ſail up the Thames, and extend their hoſtilities even to the bridge of London. Nine ſhips were ſunk at Woolwich, four at Blackwall: platforms were raiſed in many places, furniſhed with artillery; the train-bands were called out; and every place was in the utmoſt diſorder. The Dutch ſailed next to Portſmouth, where they made a fruitleſs attempt: they met with no better ſucceſs at Plymouth; they inſulted Harwich: they ſailed again up the Thames as far as Tilbury, where they were repulſed by Sir Edward Spragge, who had with him five frigates, and ſeventeen fire-ſhips. This proved a very ſharp action, at leaſt between the fire-ſhips; of which the Dutch writers themſelves confeſs, they ſpent eleven to our eight.

The next day the Engliſh attacked the Dutch in their turn; and, notwithſtanding their ſuperiority, forced them to retire, and to burn the only fire-ſhip they had left, to prevent her being taken. On the twenty-fifth they bore out of the river, with all the ſail they could make, followed at a diſtance by Sir Edward Spragge, and his remaining fire-ſhips. On the twenty-ſixth, in the mouth of the river, they were met by another Engliſh ſquadron from Harwich, conſiſting of five men of war, and fourteen fire-ſhips.

They

They boldly attacked the Dutch, and grappled the vice-admiral of Zealand, and another large ſhip; but were not able to fire them, though they frightened a hundred of their men into the ſea. The rear-admiral of Zealand was forced on ſhore, and ſo much damaged thereby, as to be obliged to return home.

The Dutch fleets, notwithſtanding theſe diſappointments, and though it was now very evident that no impreſſion could be made, as had been expected, on the Engliſh coaſts, continued ſtill hovering about, even after they were informed that the peace was actually ſigned, and ratifications exchanged at Breda. Our writers are pretty much at a loſs to account for this conduct; but a Dutch hiſtorian has told us very plainly, that Cornelius de Wit ordered all our ports, on that ſide, to be ſounded, and took incredible pains to be informed of the ſtrength of our maritime forts, and the proviſion made for protecting the mouths of our rivers: This ſhewed plainly, that though this was the firſt viſit, it was not intended to be the laſt. The whole coaſt was in alarm; and had the French thought proper at this time to join the Dutch fleet, and to invade England, conſequences the moſt fatal might juſtly have been apprehended. But Lewis had no intention to puſh the victory to ſuch extremities. His intereſt required, that a ballance ſhould be kept between the two maritime powers; not that an uncontrouled ſuperiority ſhould be given to either.

Great indignation prevailed amongſt the Engliſh, to ſee an enemy, whom they regarded as inferior, whom they had expected totally to ſubdue, and over whom they had gained many honourable advantages; now of a ſudden ride undiſputed maſters of the ocean, burn their ſhips in their very harbours, fill every place with confuſion, and ſtrike a terror into the capital itſelf. But tho' the cauſe of all theſe diſaſters could be aſcribed neither to bad fortune, to the miſconduct of admirals, nor the miſbehaviour of ſeamen, but ſolely to the avarice, at leaſt to the improvidence

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of the government; no dangerous ſymptoms of diſcontent appeared, and no attempt for an inſurrection was made by any of thoſe numerous ſectaries, who had been ſo openly branded for their rebellious principles, and who upon that ſuppoſition had been treated with ſuch ſeverity.

But the ſigning the treaty at Breda, extricated the king from his preſent difficulties. The Engliſh ambaſſadors received orders to recede from thoſe demands, which, however frivolous in themſelves, could not now be relinquiſhed, without acknowledging a ſuperiority in the enemy. Polerone remained with the Dutch; ſatisfaction for the ſhips, Bonaventure and Good Hope, the pretended grounds of the quarrel, was no longer inſiſted on: Acadie was yielded to the French. The acquiſition of New York, a ſettlement ſo important by its ſituation, was the chief advantage which the Engliſh reaped from a war, in which the national character of bravery ſhone out with great luſtre; but where the miſconduct of the government, eſpecially in the concluſion, had been no leſs apparent.

The Dutch war being over, his majeſty ſent Sir Thomas Allen with a ſtout ſquadron into the Mediterranean, to repreſs the inſolts of the Algerines, who taking advantage of our differences, had diſturbed both the Engliſh commerce and the Dutch. The latter ſent admiral Van Ghendt with a ſquadron to ſecure their trade. Theſe ſquadrons having engaged ſix corſairs, forced them to fly to their own coaſts, where they were attacked by the Engliſh and the Dutch in their boats; and being abandoned by their reſpective crews, were all taken, and a great number of chriſtian ſlaves of different nations releaſed. The ſame year ſome of our frigates attacked ſeven of the enemies beſt ſhips near cape Gaeta. The admiral and vice-admiral of the Algerines carried fifty-ſix guns each; their rear-admiral, the biggeſt ſhip in the ſquadron, carried ſixty, and the leaſt forty. Yet, after

after a ſharp engagement, the vice-admiral was ſunk, and the reſt forced to retire, moſt of them miſerably diſabled.

At laſt, Sir Edward Spragge was ſent, in 1670, with a ſtrong ſquadron of men of war and frigates, to put an end to the war. He cruiſed for ſome days before their capital, without receiving any ſatisfactory anſwer to his demands. Upon this, he ſailed from thence, with ſix frigates and three fire-ſhips, to make an attempt upon a conſiderable number of thoſe corſairs, which lay in the haven of Bugia. By the way, he loſt the company of two of his fire-ſhips; yet not diſcouraged by this accident, he perſiſted in his reſolution. Being come before the place, he broke the boom at the entrance of the haven, forced the Algerines a-ground, and (notwithſtanding the fire of the caſtle) burnt ſeven of their ſhips, which mounted from twenty-four to thirty-four guns, together with three prizes: after which he deſtroyed another of their ſhips of war near Teddeller. Theſe and other misfortunes cauſed ſuch a tumult among the Algerines, that they murdered their dey, and choſe another, by whom the peace was concluded to the ſatisfaction of the Engliſh, on the ninth of December in the ſame year: and as they were now ſufficiently humbled, and ſaw plainly enough that the continuance of a war with England muſt end in their deſtruction, they kept this peace better than any they had made in former times.

We are now come to the third Dutch war (more frequently called the ſecond, becauſe it was ſo in reſpect to this reign) and to account for the beginning of it, will be no eaſy matter. The laſt treaty of peace was made by king Charles againſt his will, and on terms, to which force only made him conſent. We need not wonder, therefore, that he ſtill retained a diſlike to the Dutch. Beſide, there had been many other things done, ſufficient to give diſtaſte to any crowned head. For inſtance, their factory at Gambron

bron in Perſia, after the peace, burnt the king in effigy; having firſt dreſſed up the image in an old ſecond-hand ſuit, to expreſs the diſtreſs in which they knew him in his exile: for this, as the king thought it beneath him to demand, ſo the ſtates-general looked upon themſelves as above giving him, any ſatisfaction.

They likewiſe ſuffered ſome medals to be ſtruck, in which their vanity was very apparent. Amongſt others, becauſe the triple alliance had given a check to the power of France, and their mediation had been accepted in the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, they were pleaſed to arrogate to themſelves the ſole honour of giving peace to Europe, and of being arbiters among contending princes. Here, however, it muſt be owned that, in making war upon them, at this juncture, king Charles acted too much under the direction of French counſels. He had about him the worſt ſet of miniſters that ever curſed this, or perhaps any other nation. Men of different faiths, (if bad ſtateſmen have any) and who agreed only in promoting thoſe arbitrary acts, which, while they ſeemed to make their maſter great, in reality ruined his, and, if they could have been ſupported, would have exalted their power.

This infamous crew (for however decked with titles by their maſter, no Engliſhman will tranſmit their names to poſterity with honour) were then called, the CABAL; and theſe engaged the king to liſten to the propoſitions of his moſt chriſtian majeſty, who, as he had before deceived him to ſerve the Dutch, ſo he now offered to deceive the Dutch, to gratify our king. That Charles might not heſitate at this ſtep, Louis le Grand betrayed his creature de Wit, and diſcovered a project he had ſent him for entering into an offenſive alliance againſt England; which, with other articles for his private advantage, moſt unhappily determined our monarch to take a ſtep prejudicial to the proteſtant intereſt, repugnant to that of the

the nation, and dangerous to the balance of power in Europe.

By virtue of ſecret engagements with France, this war was to end in the total deſtruction of the republic of Holland. Part of her dominions was to be added to thoſe of France, and the reſt to fall to the ſhare of England. In order to have a pretence for breaking with them, the captain of the Merlin-yatcht, with Sir William Temple's lady on board, had directions to paſs through the Dutch fleet in the channel; and, on their not ſtriking to his flag, was commanded to fire; which he did: yet this not being thought enough, he was blamed inſtead of being rewarded for it; and for not ſufficiently aſſerting the king's right, he was, on his arrival in England, committed to the Tower. The pretence, however, thus ſecured, the French next undertook to lull the Dutch aſleep, as they had done us, when our ſhips were burnt at Chatham; and this too they performed, by offering their mediation to accommodate that difference which they had procured, and upon which the execution of all their ſchemes depended. Yet de Wit truſted to this; till, as the dupe of France, and the ſcourge of his own nation, he fell a ſacrifice to the fury of an enraged people. The war once reſolved on, Sir Robert Holmes, who began the former by his repriſals in Guinea, had orders to open this too, though as he did that, without any previous declaration, by attacking the Smyrna fleet.

That fleet conſiſted of ſeventy ſail, valued at a million and a half; and the hopes of ſeizing ſo rich a prey had been a great motive for engaging Charles in the preſent war, and he had conſidered that capture as a principal reſource for ſupporting his military enterprizes. Holmes, with nine frigates and three yatchts, had orders to go in ſearch of this fleet; and he paſſed Spragge in the channel, who was returning home with a ſquadron from a cruize in the Mediterranean. Spragge informed him of the near approach

of

of the Hollanders; and had not Holmes, from a deſire of engroſſing all the honour and profit of the enterprize, kept the ſecret of his orders, the conjunction of theſe ſquadrons had rendered the ſucceſs infallible. When Holmes approached the Dutch, he put on an amicable appearance, and invited the admiral, Van Neſs, who commanded the convoy, on board of him: one of his captains gave a like inſidious invitation to the rear-admiral. But theſe officers were on their guard. They had received an intimation of the hoſtile intentions of the Engliſh, and had already put all the ſhips of war and merchantmen in an excellent poſture of defence. Three times were they valiantly aſſailed by the Engliſh; and as often did they as valiantly defend themſelves. In the third attack one of the Dutch ſhips of war was taken; and three or four of their moſt inconſiderable merchantmen fell into the enemies hands. The reſt, fighting with great ſkill and courage, continued their courſe; and, favoured by a miſt, got ſafe into their own harbours. This attempt is denominated perfidious and piratical by the Dutch writers, and even by many of the Engliſh. It merits at leaſt the appellation of irregular; and as it had been attended with bad ſucceſs, it brought double ſhame upon the contrivers. The Engliſh miniſtry endeavoured to cover the action, by pretending that it was a caſual rencounter, ariſing from the obſtinacy of the Dutch, who refuſed the honours of the flag: but the contrary was ſo well known, that even Holmes himſelf had not the aſſurance to perſiſt in this aſſeveration.

War againſt the Dutch was declared on the 28th of March, 1672, in the cities of London and Weſtminſter; and great pains were taken to impoſe upon the world a groſs and groundleſs notion, that it was undertaken at the inſtance, or, at leaſt, with the concurrence, of the people in general: whereas they knew their intereſt too well, not to diſcern how little this meaſure agreed with it. And therefore, though

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the king had then a parliament much to his mind, yet he found it extreamly difficult to obtain ſupplies; while the Dutch, in the midſt of all their miſeries, went on receiving ſixty millions of their money (which is between five and ſix millions of ours) annually from their ſubjects. So great difference there is between taxes levied by authority, and money chearfully paid to preſerve the common-wealth. The French king's declaration of war contained more dignity, if undiſguiſed violence and injuſtice could merit that appellation. He pretended only, that the behaviour of the Hollanders had been ſuch, that it did not conſiſt with his glory any longer to bear it.

In the mean time de Ruyter put to ſea with a formidable fleet, conſiſting of ninety-one ſhips of war and forty-four fire-ſhips. Cornelius de Wit was on board, as deputy from the ſtates. They ſailed in queſt of the Engliſh, conſiſting of ſixty-five ſhips, who were under the command of the duke of York, and who had already joined the French ſquadron of thirty-ſix ſail, under mareſchal d'Etrées. The combined fleets lay at Solebay in a very negligent poſture; and Sandwich, being an experienced officer, had given the duke warning of the danger; but received, it is ſaid, ſuch an anſwer as intimated, that there was more of caution than of courage in his apprehenſions. Upon the appearance of the enemy, every one ran to his poſt with precipitation; and many ſhips were obliged to cut their cables, in order to be in readineſs. Sandwich commanded the van; and though determined to conquer or periſh, he ſo tempered his courage with prudence, that the whole fleet was viſibly indebted to him for its ſafety. He haſtened out of the bay, where it had been eaſy for de Ruyter with his fire-ſhips to have deſtroyed the combined fleets, which were crowded together; and by this wiſe meaſure he gave time to the duke of York, who commanded the main body, and to mareſchal d'Etrées, admiral of the rear, to diſengage themſelves.

ſelves. He himſelf meanwhile was engaged in cloſe fight with the Hollanders; and by preſenting himſelf to every danger, had drawn upon him all the braveſt of the enemy. He killed Van Ghendt, the Dutch admiral, and beat off his ſhip: he ſunk another ſhip, which ventured to lay him aboard: he ſunk three fire-ſhips, which endeavoured to grapple with him: and though his veſſel was torne in pieces with ſhot, and of a thouſand men ſhe contained, near ſix hundred lay dead upon the deck; he continued ſtill to thunder with all his artillery in the midſt of the enemy. But another fire-ſhip, more fortunate than the preceding, having laid hold of his veſſel, her deſtruction was now inevitable. Warned by Sir Edward Haddock, his captain, he refuſed to make his eſcape; and bravely embraced death as a ſhelter from that ignominy, which a raſh expreſſion of the duke, he thought, had thrown upon him.

During this fierce engagement with Sandwich, de Ruyter remained not inactive. He attacked the duke of York, and fought him with ſuch fury for above two hours, that of two and thirty actions, in which he had been engaged, he declared this combat to be the moſt obſtinately diſputed. The duke's ſhip was ſo ſhattered, that he was obliged to leave her, and remove his flag to another. His ſquadron was overpowered with numbers, till Sir Joſeph Jordan, who had ſucceeded to Sandwich's command, came to his aſſiſtance; and the fight, being more equally balanced, was continued till night, when the Dutch retired, and were not followed by the Engliſh. The loſs ſuſtained by the fleets of the two maritime powers was nearly equal, if it did not rather fall more heavy on the Engliſh. The French ſuffered very little, becauſe they had ſcarce been engaged in the action; and as this backwardneſs is not their national character, it was concluded, that they had received orders to ſpare their ſhips, while the Dutch and Engliſh ſhould weaken themſelves by their mutual animoſity.

Almoſt all the other actions during the preſent war tended to confirm this ſuſpicion.

It brought great honour to the Dutch to have fought with ſome advantage the combined fleets of two ſuch powerful nations; but nothing leſs than a compleat victory could ſerve the purpoſe of de Wit, or ſave his country from thoſe calamities, which from every quarter threatened to overwhelm her. Lewis invaded the Dutch territories by land, and took their towns as faſt as he appeared before them. A general aſtoniſhment ſeized the Hollanders, from the combination of ſuch powerful princes againſt the republic; and no where was reſiſtance made, ſuitable to the antient glory or preſent greatneſs of the ſtate. Governors without experience commanded troops without diſcipline; and deſpair had univerſally extinguiſhed that ſenſe of honour, by which alone, men in ſuch dangerous extremities can be animated to a valorous defence. Every hour brought to the ſtates news of the rapid progreſs of the French, and of the cowardly defence of their own garriſons.

The Prince of Orange, with his ſmall and diſcouraged army, retired into the province of Holland; where he expected, from the natural ſtrength of the country, ſince all human art and courage failed, to be able to make ſome reſiſtance. Three provinces were already in the hands of the French; Guelderland, Overyſſel, and Utrecht; Groninghen was threatened; Friezland lay expoſed: The only difficulty lay in Holland and Zealand; and the monarch deliberated concerning the proper meaſures for reducing them.

The town of Amſterdam alone ſeemed to retain ſome courage; and by forming a regular plan of defence, endeavoured to infuſe ſpirit into the other cities: and the ſluices being opened, the neighbouring country, without regard to the great damage ſuſtained, was laid under water. All the province followed this example; and ſcrupled not, in this extre-

extremity, to reſtore to the ſea thoſe fertile fields, which with infinite art and expence had been won from it.

The ſtates of Holland met to conſider, whether any means were left to ſave the remains of their lately flouriſhing, and now diſtreſſed commonwealth. The nobles gave their vote, that, provided their religion, liberty, and ſovereignty could be ſaved, every thing elſe ſhould without ſcruple be ſacrificed to the conqueror: eleven towns concurred in the ſame ſentiments. Amſterdam ſingly declared againſt all treaty with inſolent and triumphant enemies: but notwithſtanding that oppoſition, they reſolved once more to try the force of intreaties; with which view they ſent four deputies to England, and as many to the French king. The buſineſs of the former, was to ſhew the danger of the proteſtant religion, the apparent and near approaching ruin of the balance of Europe, and the diſmal conſequences which muſt follow, even to England, from the further proſecution of the war. As to the latter, they were charged to offer any ſatisfaction to his moſt chriſtian majeſty, that he ſhould require.

The terms inſiſted on by Lewis were ſuch as totally deſtroyed, not only the exiſtence, but the very appearance, of independence in the ſtates: and the ambaſſadors, who came to London, met with ſtill worſe reception. No miniſter was allowed to treat with them; and they were retained in a kind of confinement. But notwithſtanding this rigorous conduct of the court, the preſence of the Dutch deputies excited the ſentiments of tender compaſſion, and even indignation among the people in general, but eſpecially among thoſe who could foreſee the aim and reſult of thoſe dangerous councils. The two moſt powerful monarchs, they ſaid, in Europe, the one by land, the other by ſea, have, contrary to the faith of ſolemn treaties, combined to exterminate an illuſ-

trious republic: what a diſmal proſpect does their ſucceſs afford to the neighbours of the one, and to the ſubjects of the other? Charles had formed the triple league, in order to reſtrain the exorbitant power of France: a ſure proof, that he does not now err from ignorance.

But though the fear of giving offence to his confederate had engaged Charles to treat the Dutch ambaſſadors with ſuch rigour, he was not altogether without uneaſineſs, on account of the rapid and unexpected progreſs of the French arms. Were Holland entirely conquered, its whole commerce and naval force, he ſaw, muſt become an acceſſion to France; the Spaniſh Low Countries muſt ſoon follow; and Lewis, now independent of his ally, would no longer think it his intereſt to ſupport him againſt his diſcontented ſubjects. Charles, though he never ſtretched his attention to very diſtant conſequences, could not but foreſee theſe obvious events; and though incapable of envy or jealouſy, he was touched with anxiety, when he found every thing yield to the French arms, while ſuch vigorous reſiſtance was made to his own. He ſoon diſmiſſed the Dutch ambaſſadors, leſt they ſhould cabal among his ſubjects, who bore them great favour: but he ſent over Buckingham and Arlington, and ſoon after lord Halifax, to negotiate anew with the French king, in the preſent proſperous ſituation of that monarch's affairs.

Theſe miniſters paſſed through Holland; and as they were ſuppoſed to bring peace to the diſtreſt republic, they were received every where with the loudeſt acclamations. "God bleſs the king of England! God bleſs the prince of Orange! Confuſion to the States!" This was every where the cry of the populace. The ambaſſadors had ſeveral conferences with the States and the prince of Orange; but made no reaſonable advances toward an accommodation. They went to Utrecht, where they renewed the league

league with Lewis; and agreed, that neither of the kings ſhould ever make peace with Holland, but by common conſent.

The terms propoſed by Lewis bereaved the republic of all ſecurity againſt any land invaſion from France: thoſe demanded by Charles expoſed them equally to an invaſion by ſea from England: and when both were joined, they appeared abſolutely intolerable; and reduced the Hollanders, who ſaw no means of defence, to the utmoſt deſpair. What extreamly augmented their diſtreſs, were the violent factions with which they continued to be every where agitated. Their rage at laſt broke all bounds, and bore every thing before it. They roſe in an inſurrection at Dort; and this proved a ſignal of general revolt throughout all the provinces. The two brothers of de Wit were aſſaſſinated, and the prince of Orange inveſted with the ſtadtholderſhip.

In the mean time the French and Engliſh fleets ſailed again for the Dutch coaſts, with a deſign to make a deſcent on Zealand, the only province into which the French had not carried their arms by land. Here they found the Dutch fleet; but not thinking proper to attack them among the ſands, they deferred the execution of their deſign, and blocked up the Maeſe and Texel; which de Ruyter (having ſtrict orders from the States not to hazard a battle) ſaw with concern, yet wanted power to prevent. The duke of York was reſolved to debark on the iſle of Texel, the body of troops on board his fleet. The occaſion was favourable in all reſpects; the French and the biſhop of Munſter were in the heart of the Dutch territories, ſo that no great force could be drawn together to reſiſt them on ſhore.

It was upon the 3d of July this reſolution was taken; and it was intended, that their forces ſhould have landed the next flood. But providence interpoſed in favour of a free people, and ſaved them from a yoke, which ſeemed already to preſs upon

their necks. The ebb, inſtead of ſix, continued twelve hours, which defeated the intended deſcent for that time; and the ſtorm, that roſe the night following, forced the fleet out to ſea, where they ſtruggled for ſome time with very foul weather, and, the opportunity being quite loſt, returned, without performing any thing of conſequence, to the Engliſh ſhore. The Dutch clergy magnified this accident into a miracle; and, though ſome of our writers have thereupon arraigned them of ſuperſtition, yet their exceſs of piety was, in this reſpect, very pardonable; eſpecially, if we conſider, there could not be a higher ſtroke of policy, at that time, than to perſuade a nation, ſtruggling againſt ſuperior enemies, that they were particularly favoured by heaven.

After this diſappointment, there was no other action thought of at ſea for this year, except the ſending Sir Edward Spragge, with a ſquadron, to diſturb the Dutch herring-fiſhery; which he performed with a degree of moderation that became ſo great a man: contenting himſelf with taking one of their veſſels, when he ſaw that was ſufficient to diſperſe the reſt. But while the war ſeemed to ſlumber in Europe, it raged ſufficiently in the Weſt and Eaſt Indies. All this time commerce in general ſuffered exceedingly on both ſides: noble plantations were ruined; and the French, who, before this war, had very little ſkill in navigation, and ſcarcely at all underſtood the art of fighting at ſea, as their own writers confeſs, improved wonderfully in both, at the joint expence of Britain and Holland. Thus their ſelf-intereſted political end was plainly anſwered, while the maritime powers were fighting with, and weakening each other; and this too as much againſt their inclinations, as their intereſts.

The money, granted by parliament, ſufficed to equip a fleet, 1673, of which prince Rupert was declared admiral: for the duke was ſet aſide by the teſt. Sir Edward Spragge and the earl of Oſſory com-

commanded under the prince. A French ſquadron joined them, commanded by d'Etrées. The combined fleets ſet ſail toward the coaſt of Holland, and found the enemy, lying at anchor, within the ſands of Schonvelt. There is a natural confuſion attending ſea-fights, even beyond other military tranſactions; derived from the precarious operations of winds and tides, as well as from the ſmoke and darkneſs, in which every thing is there involved. No wonder, therefore, that relations of theſe battles are apt to contain uncertainties and contradictions; eſpecially when compoſed by writers of the hoſtile nations, who take pleaſure in exalting their own advantages, and ſuppreſſing thoſe of the enemy. All we can ſay with certainty of this battle, is, that both ſides boaſted of the victory; and we may thence infer, that the action was not deciſive. The Dutch, being near home, retired into their own harbours. In a week, they were refitted, and preſented themſelves again to the combined fleets. A new action enſued, not more deciſive than the foregoing. It was not fought with great obſtinacy on either ſide; but whether the Dutch or the allies firſt retired, ſeems to be a matter of uncertainty. The loſs in the former of theſe actions fell chiefly on the French, whom the Engliſh, diffident of their intentions, took care to place under their own ſquadrons; and they thereby expoſed them to all the fire of the enemy. There ſeems not to have been a ſhip loſt on either ſide in the ſecond engagement.

It was ſufficient glory to de Ruyter, that with a fleet much inferior to the combined ſquadrons of France and England, he could fight without any notable diſadvantage; and it was ſufficient victory, that he could defeat the project of another deſcent in Zealand; which, had it taken place, had endangered, in the preſent circumſtances, the total overthrow of the Dutch commonwealth. Prince Rupert alſo was ſuſpected not to favour the king's project of

ſubduing Holland, or enlarging his authority at home; and from theſe motives, he was thought not to have preſſed ſo hard on the enemy, as his well-known valour gave reaſon to expect. It is indeed remarkable, that, during this war, though the Engliſh with their allies much over-matched the Hollanders, they were not able to gain any advantage over them; while in the former war, though often overborne by numbers, they ſtill exerted themſelves with the moſt heroic courage, and always acquired great renown, ſometimes even ſignal victories. But they were diſguſted with the preſent meaſures, which they eſteemed pernicious to their country; they were not ſatisfied in the juſtice of the quarrel; and they entertained a perpetual jealouſy of their confederates, whom, had they been permitted, they would with much more pleaſure have deſtroyed than even the enemies themſelves.

If prince Rupert was not favourable to the deſigns of the court, he enjoyed as little favour from the court, at leaſt from the duke, who, though he could no longer command the fleet, ſtill poſſeſſed the chief authority in the admiralty. The prince complained of a total want of every thing, powder, ſhot, proviſions, beer, and even water; and he went into harbour, that he might refit the fleet, and ſupply its numerous neceſſities. After ſome weeks he was refitted; and he again put to ſea. The hoſtile fleets met at the mouth of the Texel, and fought the laſt battle, which, during a courſe of ſo many years, theſe neighbouring maritime powers have diſputed with each other. De Ruyter, and under him Tromp, commanded the Dutch in this action, as in the two former: for the prince of Orange had reconciled theſe two gallant rivals; and they retained nothing of their former animoſity, except that emulation, which made them exert themſelves with more diſtinguiſhing bravery againſt the enemies of their country. Brankert was oppoſed to d'Etrées, de Ruyter to prince Rupert,

Rupert, Tromp to Spragge. It is remarkable, that in all actions theſe brave admirals laſt mentioned had ſtill ſelected each other, as the only antagoniſts worthy each others valour; and no deciſive advantage had as yet been gained by either of them. They fought in this battle, as if there were no mean between death and victory.

D'Etrées and all the French ſquadron, except rear-admiral Martel, kept at a diſtance; and Brankert, inſtead of preſſing on them, bore down to the aſſiſtance of de Ruyter, who was engaged in furious combat with prince Rupert. On no occaſion did the prince acquire more deſerved honour: his conduct, as well as valour, ſhone out with ſignal luſtre. Having diſengaged his ſquadron from the numerous enemies, with which he was every where ſurrounded, and having joined Sir John Chichely, his rear-admiral, who had been ſeparated from him, he made haſte to the relief of Spragge, who was very hard preſſed by Tromp's ſquadron. The Royal Prince, in which Spragge firſt engaged, was ſo diſabled, that he was obliged to hoiſt his flag on board the St. George; while Tromp was, for a like reaſon, obliged to quit his ſhip, the Golden Lion, and to go on board the Comet. The fight was renewed with the utmoſt fury by theſe valorous rivals, and by the rear-admirals, their ſeconds. Oſſory, rear-admiral to Spragge, was preparing to board Tromp, when he ſaw the St. George terribly torn, and in a manner diſabled. Spragge was leaving her, in order to hoiſt his flag on board a third ſhip, and return to the charge; when a ſhot, which had paſſed through the St. George, took his boat, and ſunk her. The admiral was drowned, to the great regret of Tromp himſelf, who beſtowed on his valour the deſerved praiſes.

Prince Rupert found affairs in this dangerous ſituation, and ſaw moſt of the ſhips in Spragge's ſquadron diſabled from fight. The engagement was renewed,

newed, and became very close and bloody. The prince threw the enemy into great disorder: to increase it, he sent among them two fire-ships; and at the same time made a signal to the French to bear down, which if they had done, a total victory must have ensued. But the prince, when he saw that they neglected his signal, and observed that most of his ships were in no condition to keep the sea long, wisely provided for their safety, by making easy sail toward the English coast. The victory in this battle was as doubtful, as in all the actions fought during the present war.

The turn, which the affairs of the Hollanders took by land, was more favourable. The prince of Orange, by his conduct and success, obliged Lewis to recal his forces, and to abandon all his conquests, with greater rapidity than he had at first made them.

The king plainly saw, that he could expect no supply from the commons for carrying on a war, which was so odious to them. He resolved therefore to make a separate peace with the Dutch, on the terms which they had proposed through the canal of the Spanish ambassador. With a cordiality, which, in the present disposition on both sides, was probably but affected, but which was obliging, he asked advice of parliament. The parliament unanimously concurred, both in thanks for this gracious condescension, and in their advice for peace. Peace was accordingly concluded at London, February 9th, 1674. The honour of the flag was yielded by the Dutch in the most extensive terms: a regulation of trade was agreed to: all possessions were restored to the same condition as before the war: the English planters in Surinam were allowed to remove at pleasure: and the States agreed to pay to the king the sum of eight hundred thousand patacoons, near three hundred thousand pounds. Thus ended the last of our Dutch wars, which, though made against the interest and will of the people, terminated highly to their

their advantage; whereas the former war, though it was begun at the inſtance of the nation, ended but indifferently: ſo little correſpondence there is between the grounds and iſſues of things.

The corſairs of Tripoli having for ſome time committed great outrages on the Engliſh trade, Sir John Narborough was ſent, in the latter end of the year 1675, to reduce them to reaſon. The 14th of January following, Sir John came before the place, and having blocked up the port in the night, ſo that no ſhip could go in, or come out, he manned all his boats, and ſent them under the command of lieutenant Shovel (afterward Sir Cloudeſly, the famous admiral) into the harbour; where he ſeized the guard-ſhip, and afterward burnt the veſſels, which lay at that time in the harbour: after which, he ſafely returned to the fleet without the loſs of a ſingle man. This extraordinary action ſtruck the Tripolines with amazement, and made them inſtantly ſue for peace; which, however, did not immediately take place, becauſe they abſolutely refuſed to make good the loſſes ſuſtained by the Engliſh. Sir John, thereupon, cannonaded the town; and, finding that ineffectual, landed a body of men about twenty leagues from thence, and burnt a vaſt magazine of timber, which was to have ſerved for the building of ſhips. When all this failed of reducing theſe people, Sir John ſailed to Malta; and, after remaining there for ſome time, returned ſuddenly upon the enemy, and diſtreſſed them ſo much, that they were glad to ſubmit to a peace, on the terms preſcribed.

However, ſoon after the concluſion of this treaty, ſome of their corſairs, returning into port, not only expreſſed a great diſlike thereto, but actually depoſed the dey for making it; and, without any regard to it, began to take all Engliſh ſhips, as before. Sir John remaining ſtill in the Mediterranean, and having immediate notice of what paſſed, ſuddenly appeared with eight frigates before Tripoli, and began with

with ſuch violence to batter the place, that the inhabitants were glad once more to renew the peace, and deliver up the authors of the late diſturbance to condign puniſhment.

In 1679, we had ſome differences with the Algerines; upon which Sir John Narborough was ſent with a ſquadron to demand ſatisfaction: this he procured, as it muſt always be procured, by dint of force. This peace, however, did not laſt long; but commodore Herbert, afterward ſo well known to the world by the title of earl of Torrington, went thither with a few ſhips, and compelled them to make ſatisfaction for the breach of it, and to give the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of their future conduct. That expedition, which was performed in 1682, proved the laſt in this reign.

There is yet one tranſaction more which calls for our notice, and that is, the demolition of the ſtrong and expenſive fortreſs of Tangier. In the ſpace of twenty years it coſt the nation an immenſe ſum of money; and yet many doubted, all things conſidered, whether, after all, it was of any real uſe to us, or not. When we firſt had it, the harbour was very dangerous; to remedy which, there was a fine mole run out at a vaſt charge. Several ſocieties, or copartnerſhips, which undertook to perfect this work, raiſed great ſums for that purpoſe; and, after waſting them, miſcarried. At laſt, however, all difficulties were, in a manner, overcome; and this work finiſhed in ſuch a manner, that it might be ſaid to vie with thoſe of the Romans. But the houſe of commons, in 1680, having expreſſed a diſlike to the management of the garriſon kept there, which they ſuſpected to be no better than a nurſery for a popiſh army; and diſcovering, withal, no thoughts of providing for it any longer; the king began, likewiſe, to entertain thoughts of quitting, deſtroying, and bringing home his forces from thence. In 1683, the lord Dartmouth was conſtituted captain-general of

his majeſty's forces in Africa, and governor of Tangier, and ſent, as admiral of an Engliſh fleet, to demoliſh the works, blow up the mole, and bring home the garriſon from thence; all which he very effectually performed: ſo that the harbour is, at this time, entirely ſpoiled; and, though now in the hands of the Moors, is a very inconſiderable place. One circumſtance, attending its demolition, deſerves to be remarked, becauſe it ſhews the temper and ſpirit of the king. He directed a conſiderable number of new-coined crown-pieces to be buried in the ruins, that if (through the viciſſitudes of fortune, to which all ſublunary things are liable) this city ſhould ever be reſtored, there might remain ſome memorial of its having had once the honour of depending on the crown of Britain. Thus, through diſputes between the king and parliament, whatever party-ſuſpicions might ſuggeſt, the Britiſh nation loſt a place and port of great importance.

It is on all hands confeſſed, that never any Engliſh, perhaps it might, without diſtinction of countries, be ſaid, any prince, underſtood maritime concerns ſo well as Charles the ſecond. He piqued himſelf very much on making, as occaſion offered, minute enquiries into whatever regarded naval affairs: he underſtood ſhip-building perfectly, and made draughts of veſſels with his own hands: he was no ſtranger to the conveniencies and inconveniencies of every port in his dominions. But he was ſo expenſive in his pleaſures, the jealouſies raiſed againſt him were ſo ſtrong, he was ſo much in the hands of favourites and miſtreſſes, he was ſo frequently and ſo egregiouſly betrayed by both, and his finances, through his whole reign, were ſo cramped, and in ſuch diſorder; that he was not able to accompliſh any great deſigns.

How intent he was, for the firſt ten years of his reign, in promoting whatever had a tendency to increaſe the naval power of his kingdom, appears, from all the candid hiſtories of thoſe times, and from the collections

collections of orders, and other public papers relating to the direction of the navy, while the duke of York was admiral, publiſhed of late years, and in every body's hands. The lord keeper Bridgman affirmed, that, from 1660 to 1670, the charge of the navy had never amounted to leſs than half a million a year. But after the ſecond Dutch war, the king grew more ſaving in this article; and yet, in 1678, when the nation in general expected a war with France, his navy was in excellent order. The judicious Mr. Pepys, ſecretary to the admiralty, has left us a particular account of its ſtate in the month of Auguſt that year; which as it is very ſhort, it may not be amiſs to inſert.

ABSTRACT of the FLEET.

Rates.	Number.	Men.
1	5	3135
2	4	1555
3	16	5010
4	33	6460
5	12	1400
6	7	423
Fire-ſhips	6	340
Total	83	18323

Of theſe, ſeventy-ſix were in ſea-pay, the ſtore-houſes and magazines in compleat order; and, which is ſtill more to the purpoſe, thirty capital ſhips were then actually on the ſtocks.

The Eaſt India company were exceedingly favoured and protected, eſpecially in the beginning of this reign: the African company was in the zenith of its glory, and brought in vaſt profits to the proprietors, and the nation. Many of our plantations were ſettled by his majeſty's favour; ſuch as Penſilvania, Carolina,

ſina, &c. Others were reſtored to this nation by his arms; ſuch as New York and the Jerſeys: and all had ſuch encouragement, that they made quite another figure than in former times, as we may gueſs from what a modern writer (no way partial to this prince) ſays of Barbadoes; that, during his reign, it maintained four hundred ſail of ſhips, produced two hundred thouſand pounds a year clear profit to this nation, and maintained one hundred thouſand people there and here.

Theſe are high calculations: Sir William Petty calculated our exports at ten millions per annum. This agrees very well with the ſtate of our cuſtoms, which fell then little ſhort of a million; though in 1660, they were farmed out for four hundred thouſand pounds, as they were once let by queen Elizabeth at thirty-ſix thouſand. Dr. Davenant, an excellent judge in theſe matters, having duly weighed theſe calculations, and compared them with all the lights he had received from long experience; pronounces the balance of trade to have been in our favour, in this reign, two millions a year. The bounds preſcribed to this work, will not allow more to be ſaid on this ſubject.

Few princes have ſtruggled with greater difficulties, before they aſcended their thrones, than king James II. and few ever ſuſtained a greater load of trouble afterward. He ſucceeded his brother the 6th of February, 1685, with the general acclamations of his ſubjects, who expected great things from a king who came to the throne with ſuch advantages. He was then turned of fifty-one, had good natural parts, improved and ſtrengthened both by education and experience; inclined to, and very diligent in buſineſs; an able œconomiſt: in fine, a prince, who, if he had conducted public affairs with the ſame eaſe and dexterity which he ſhewed in the management of his private concerns, his reign might have been as happy

happy and glorious, as it proved troubleſome and unfortunate.

It was his great foible, that he was conſtantly influenced by foreign councils, which is what the Engliſh nation cannot endure; and, indeed, it is impoſſible they ſhould: for, as our conſtitution differs from the conſtitution of all the ſtates upon the continent, it is ſimply impracticable to govern us well, by any other ſyſtem of politics than our own. King James knew this well enough; and yet his fondneſs for the popiſh religion, threw him into the arms of France, and engaged him, while a ſubject, to act as a tool; when a king, to rule as a viceroy to Lewis XIV. and this at a juncture, when, if he had been of the religion of his fathers, and had complied with the deſires of his people, he might have given law to that haughty monarch, and been eſteemed the deliverer of Europe.

Nevertheleſs, wrong as his conduct was, in almoſt every other particular, the care he took of naval affairs deſerves to be mentioned. He had long exerciſed the office of lord high-admiral, in the reign of his brother, and underſtood it thoroughly: he knew, too, the diſorders which had crept into the whole œconomy of the fleet, in the ſix years immediately preceding his acceſſion; and was well acquainted, beſide, with the difficulties the late king had found, in applying remedies to theſe miſchiefs.

As ſoon, therefore, as he was ſeated on the throne, he began to conſider how a total reformation might be wrought, and the affairs of the navy be not only ſet right for the preſent, but alſo be put into ſuch a ſettled courſe, as that they might not ſuddenly go wrong again. With this view, he conſulted Mr. Pepys, and ſome other perſons, on whoſe abilities and integrity he could depend; and having learned from them what was neceſſary to be done to bring about the ends at which he aimed, he firſt aſſigned a

ſtated

ſtated fund of four hundred thouſand pounds a year, payable quarterly out of the treaſury, for the ſervice of the navy; and then iſſued a ſpecial commiſſion for ſettling all things relating to it, and for putting the management thereof into ſuch a method, as might need few or no alterations in ſucceeding times.

This was the wiſeſt act of his whole reign, and anſwered very effectually all that could be expected from it; and was grounded, as to form, on a commiſſion which had iſſued, for the ſame purpoſe, in the reign of his grandfather. This commiſſion was dated the 17th of April, 1686, and by it the commiſſioners were directed to enquire into, and remedy all the diſorders that were then in the navy, to reſtore it, in every reſpect, to good order, and from time to time to report the proceedings to his majeſty and the privy council.

The commiſſioners veſted with theſe powers loſt no time, but fell immediately on a diligent inſpection into the ſtate of the navy, enquired ſtrictly into the cauſes of paſt miſcarriages, with reſpect rather to things than men; and taking ſuch meaſures for the immediate remedy of the miſchiefs they diſcovered, that the old ſhips were perfectly repaired; the new ones altered and mended; the yards properly ſupplied with the ableſt workmen; all the ſtorehouſes filled with whatever was requiſite, bought at the beſt hand, and, in all reſpects, the beſt in their kind: the eſtimates brought into proper order, and the whole œconomy of the navy reduced into ſo clear a method, that it was impoſſible any officer could miſtake in his duty, the public ſervice ſuffer in any of its various branches, or the king run any hazard of being cheated.

While this commiſſion ſubſiſted, the king iſſued new inſtructions to the officers commanding his ſhips of war; theſe are dated the 15th of July, 1686, and are extreamly well calculated for promoting the public ſervice, ſecuring diſcipline, and preſerving pro-

per memorials of every man's particular merit, by obliging all captains, and ſuperior officers, to depoſit a perfect copy of their journals with the ſecretary of the admiralty. As many things, in theſe regulations, might ſeem to bear hard upon commanders, and to deprive them of thoſe emoluments which their predeceſſors had long enjoyed; his majeſty was pleaſed to grant them very conſiderable favours: ſuch as a ſettled allowance for their tables, ſeveral advantages in reſpect to prizes, &c. and, in the cloſe, promiſed to reward every inſtance of courage, care, or diligence, in any of his officers, upon proper atteſtations depoſited with the ſecretary of the admiralty.

We need not wonder, that, in conſequence of ſo unwearied an attention, the Britiſh fleet was in very good order when king James had the firſt notice of the prince of Orange's intended invaſion; but we may be juſtly ſurpriſed at the ſtrange management of maritime affairs from that time. A ſquadron of ſhips was, indeed, immediately ordered to ſea, under the command of Sir Roger Strickland, then rear-admiral of England; who was, perhaps, the moſt improper man in the world to command them, on account of his being obnoxious to the ſeamen, by the readineſs he had ſhewn in bringing prieſts on board the fleet. His ſquadron was ordered to the Downs very indifferently manned; and when he complained of it, and deſired to have ſoldiers at leaſt ſent on board, even this was very ſlowly complied with.

When the danger appeared more clearly, this fleet was directed to retire to the Buoy in the Nore; and lord Dartmouth was ordered to ſea, with ſuch a reinforcement as made the whole fleet, under his command, conſiſt of forty men of war: of which, thirty-eight were of the line of battle, and eighteen fire-ſhips. A council of war was called, wherein Sir William Jenings, who commanded a third rate, propoſed to put to ſea, and ſtand over to the Dutch coaſts, as the ſhorteſt and ſureſt way to prevent an inva-

invaſion. This propoſition, however, was rejected, by a great majority; and ſo it was reſolved to continue there. The true ground of this, as Mr. ſecretary Burchet fairly tells us, was, the ſecret reſolution of the greateſt part of the captains to hinder the admiral, in caſe he had come up with the Dutch fleet, from doing them much damage: and thus it appears, how ineffectual fleets and armies are, when princes have loſt the confidence of their ſubjects.

In the mean time, the prince of Orange had about his perſon abundance of Engliſh noblemen and gentlemen. The fleet that was to carry theſe, conſiſted of about fifty ſail, moſt of them third or fourth rates, and the tranſports were about five hundred. Theſe, with twenty-five fire-ſhips, made up the whole navy: the land forces embarked, were four thouſand horſe and dragoons, and ten thouſand foot. It was very remarkable, that though all the captains of theſe veſſels were Dutch, yet the chief command was given to admiral Herbert, who very lately commanded the Engliſh fleet, and this with a view, either to engage ſhips to come over, or, at leaſt, to encourage the ſeamen to deſert.

In order to do this more effectually, Herbert firſt addreſſed a letter to his countrymen in the ſea-ſervice, and then ſtood with the Dutch fleet over to the Downs, in order to look at the Engliſh ſquadron, and try what effects his exhortation had produced. At that time his ſucceſs did not promiſe much; and, after a fortnight's cruizing, he returned to the Dutch coaſts, with a better opinion of the king's fleet, and a worſe of his own, than when he ſailed. But, for all this, his epiſtle did almoſt as much ſervice as the force he commanded: for though the deſertion was inconſiderable; yet, by degrees, the ſailors loſt their ſpirits, and their officers began to cabal.

On the firſt of November the fleet ſailed. The prince intended to have gone northward, and to have landed his forces in the mouth of the Humber; but

a ſtrong eaſt wind rendered this impracticable, and ſeemed to direct them to a better courſe. His highneſs then ſailed weſtward, the ſame wind which brought him to the Engliſh coaſt keeping in the king's ſhips. They paſſed the Engliſh navy, during a fog, undiſcerned, except a few tranſports which ſailed in ſight, while the Engliſh fleet rode with their yards and top-maſts down, and could not, by reaſon of the extraordinary violence of the wind, purchaſe their anchors. The prince and his army landed ſafely in Torbay, on the fifth of November, the anniverſary of the gun-powder plot.

The conduct of the king, after the arrival of the Dutch fleet, was unaccountable: ſince, if we except the care he took in ſending away his family, it does not appear that he iſſued any orders relating to the fleet, which will ſeem ſtill the more extraordinary, if we conſider, that his admiral was not only a man of quality, and one on whoſe fidelity he could abſolutely depend; but alſo an experienced officer, and a man extreamly beloved by the ſailors. In all probability, he was deterred from taking any meaſures, of this ſort, by what happened at the docks, where the workmen employed in the ſervice of the royal navy, roſe on a ſudden, and, without any other arms than the tools belonging to their trades, drove out the regiment of regular troops quartered at Rocheſter, and Chatham, and declared for the proteſtant religion, and the prince of Orange. To ſay the truth, the ſea-faring people declared unanimouſly againſt his meaſures, and did all in their power to prevent the moſt obnoxious of his miniſters, ſuch as chancellor Jefferies, and father Petre, from making their eſcape: which can be attributed to nothing but the juſt ſenſe they had of the iniquitous meaſures theſe people had purſued: for, as to themſelves, they had no particular grievances.

The miſtakes committed on this ſide, were heightened, in their appearance, by the great caution and wiſe

wiſe management on the other, as well as by the foreſeen and unforeſeen conſequences of the whole tranſaction. The embarkation was made with eaſe; the paſſage better regulated by the winds, than it could have been by their prudence; the deſcent in the fitteſt place in England for landing of horſe; ſo that it was performed without difficulty, as well as without danger.

In Holland, they triumphed on the exact execution of the plan laid down by the ſtates; and the moſt eminent news-writer they then had, made this obſervation on the ſucceſs of the prince's enterprize, in his reflections on the hiſtory of Europe, for November, 1688. "The expence beſtowed on the fleet "and army ſet out from Holland, is a ſign they are "morally aſſured of the ſucceſs of the expedition, "which, I am apt to think, has been a long time "in agitation, though it was carried with that pru"dence and ſecrecy, as not to be diſcovered, till it "could be no longer concealed." When ſkill, induſtry, and zeal, were viſibly on the part of the prince; and weakneſs, irreſolution, and diffidence apparent in all the king's meaſures; it was impoſſible things ſhould continue long in diſpute, or that his highneſs, who knew ſo well how to uſe all the advantages that were in his hands, ſhould not prevail.

When lord Dartmouth ſaw the diſpoſition of his officers, and how little it was in his power to ſerve his maſter; he wiſely yielded to neceſſity: and, ſailing once again into the Downs, held a council of war, in which it was reſolved, firſt, to diſmiſs from their commands, all ſuch officers as were known to be papiſts, or ſuſpected ſo to be; and then to ſend up an addreſs to his highneſs, ſetting forth their ſteady affection to the proteſtant religion, and their ſincere concern for the ſafety, freedom, and honour of their country. Not long after this, the ſhips were diſperſed, ſome to the dock-yards, to be diſmantled and laid up, others to be cleaned and repaired; and ſuch

as were in the beſt condition for the ſea, were appointed for neceſſary ſervices.

Theſe were all the exploits performed by the Engliſh navy, during the reign of a prince, who, while a ſubject, had ſerved and acquired a reputation at ſea; who underſtood maritime affairs perfectly well, and who attended to them with extraordinary diligence. But it ought to be remembered, that though this fleet was uſeleſs to him, yet it was of the higheſt advantage to the nation. If he had been leſs careful in this reſpect; if he had left the navy in a low condition; nay, if he had left it as he found it at his brother's deceaſe, it would have been impoſſible for us to have withſtood the naval power of France, which had been for ſeveral years growing: and about the time of the revolution, or a little before, it had attained to its greateſt height.

An abſtract of the liſt of the royal navy of England, upon the 18th of December, 1688, with the force of the whole.

Ships and veſſels.		Force.	
Rates.	Number.	Men.	Guns.
1	9	6705	878
2	11	7010	974
3	39	16545	2640
4	41	9480	1908
5	2	260	60
6	6	420	90
Bombers,	3	120	34
Fire-ſhips,	26	905	218
Hoys,	6	22	00
Hulks,	8	50	00
Ketches,	3	115	24
Smacks,	5	18	00
Yatchts,	14	353	104
Total,	173	42003	6930

No

No ſooner was the crown placed on the head of the prince of Orange, than he began to feel the weight of it, and found himſelf obliged to embark in a war, as ſoon as he was ſeated on the throne. A war in which all Europe was engaged; for the ambitious deſigns of Lewis XIV. were now ſo evident, that even the powers, leaſt inclined to action, ſaw themſelves obliged to provide for their own ſafety, by entering into a confederacy for effectually oppoſing the encroachments of that aſpiring prince.

The French king, on the other hand, inſtead of diſcovering any dread of this formidable alliance, began firſt by falling upon the empire, and declaring war againſt Spain, at the ſame time that he provided for his ally, king James, whom he ſent over into Ireland, with a conſiderable force, eſcorted by a fleet of thirty ſail of men of war, and ſeven frigates. On the 12th of March, 1688-9, that monarch landed at Kingſale, from whence he went to Cork.

Admiral Herbert, who commanded the Engliſh fleet, in the beginning of the month of April, 1689, ſailed for Cork, with a ſquadron which conſiſted of no more than twelve ſhips of war, one fire-ſhip, two yatchts, and two ſmacks. Here he received information, that king James had landed at Kingſale, about two months before. He then thought it proper to attempt the cutting off the convoy that had attended him from France: with this view he ſailed for Breſt, and cruiſed off that port for ſome time; but hearing nothing of the French men of war from the advice-boats he daily received, and having increaſed his force to nineteen ſail, he again ſteered for the Iriſh coaſt, and toward the latter end of April, appeared off Kingſale.

On the 29th of that month, he diſcovered a fleet of forty-four ſail, which he judged were going into Kingſale, and therefore did his utmoſt to prevent it. The French ſhipped the ſtores and money they had brought for James's army, on board ſix fire-ſhips,

and ſome merchantmen they had with them, to land at a place in the bay, ſeven leagues diſtant, while they engaged the Engliſh ſquadron, that at all events they might be ſafe.

Authors vary not a little as to the ſtrength of both fleets; but biſhop Kennet reckons the Engliſh ſhips twenty-two, wherein he agrees with the French relations. The enemy's fleet conſiſted, according to our accounts, of twenty-eight; according to their own, of no more than twenty-four ſail. The Engliſh had certainly the wind, and might therefore have avoided fighting, if they had ſo pleaſed; but this was by no means agreeable to admiral Herbert's temper: he therefore endeavoured all he could to get into the bay, that he might come to a cloſe engagement; but the French ſaved him the labour, by bearing down upon him in three diviſions, about ten in the morning on the firſt of May. The fight was pretty warm for about two hours; but then ſlackened, becauſe a great part of the Engliſh fleet could not come up; but they continued firing on both ſides till about five in the afternoon, when the French fleet ſtood into the bay, which put an end to the fight. The Engliſh writers aſcribe this either to want of courage, or to the admiral's being reſtrained by his orders; but the French inform us, that he retired in order to take care of the ſhips under his convoy; and that after they had entirely debarked the ſupply they had brought, he diſpoſed every thing in order to put to ſea the next morning, which he did. This is the battle in Bantry Bay, which though inconſiderable enough in itſelf, (ſince the Engliſh, who had certainly the worſt of it, loſt only one captain, one lieutenant, and ninety-four men) is yet magnified by ſome writers into a mighty action.

After the action, admiral Herbert bore away for the Scilly iſlands, and having cruiſed there for ſome time, returned to Spithead; upon which occaſion, king William went down in perſon to Portſmouth, where,

where, to ſhew he would diſtinguiſh and reward merit, though not pointed out to him by ſucceſs, he declared admiral Herbert earl of Torrington, and knighted captain John Aſhby of the Defiance, and captain Cloudeſly Shovel of the Edgar; giving, at the ſame time, a bounty of ten ſhillings to each ſeaman, and making a proviſion for Mrs. Ailmer, relict of captain Ailmer, and for the reſt of the widows of ſuch as had been killed in the action. This was perfectly well judged by that prince, and was indeed an act of his own, flowing from the thorough knowlege he had of mankind, and the neceſſity there is of keeping up the ſpirits of the ſeamen, if we expect they ſhould perform great things.

When king James landed in Ireland, his affairs had certainly a very promiſing aſpect on that ſide. He brought with him a very conſiderable ſupply, and he found there an army of 40,000 men compleat. There were but two places in the north that held out againſt him, viz. London-Derry and Inniſkilling. Of theſe he determined to make himſelf maſter; and might have eaſily done it, if he had been well adviſed: but, as biſhop Burnet juſtly obſerves, there was a kind of fatality that hung on his councils.

Commodore Rooke, who had been ſent with a ſquadron in the month of May to the coaſt of Ireland, performed all that could be expected from him there, by keeping king James and his army from having any intercourſe with the Scots; and on the eighth of June, he ſailed in with the Bonaventure, Swallow, Dartmouth, and a fleet of tranſport-ſhips, under the command of major-general Kirke, who was come with his force to relieve London-Derry. When they came to examine the method taken by the enemy to prevent their relieving the place, they found they had laid a boom croſs the river, compoſed of chains and cables, and floated with timber, there being ſtrong redoubts at each end, well provided with cannon. Major-general Kirke having properly diſpoſed

the

the men of war, on the 30th of July, ſent the Mountjoy of Derry, captain Browning, and the Phœnix of Colrain, captain Douglas, both deeply laden with proviſions, under the convoy of the Dartmouth frigate, to attempt breaking the boom. The Iriſh army made a prodigious fire upon theſe ſhips as they paſſed, which was very briſkly returned, 'till the Mountjoy ſtruck againſt the boom, and broke it, and was by the rebound run aſhore; upon this, the Iriſh gave a loud huzza, made a terrible fire upon her, and with their boats attempted to board her: but the ſailors firing a broadſide, the ſhock looſened her ſo, that they floated again, and paſſed the boom, as did the Phœnix alſo, under cover of the Dartmouth's fire. This ſeaſonable ſupply ſaved the remains of that brave garriſon, which, after a hundred and five days cloſe ſiege, and being reduced from ſeven thouſand five hundred, to four thouſand three hundred, had ſubſiſtence for only two days left, the enemy raiſing the ſiege on the laſt of July.

The naval tranſactions of 1690, will commence properly with an account of admiral Ruſſel's ſailing into the Mediterranean, though this is, generally ſpeaking, accounted a tranſaction of the former year; but the reaſon for placing it here, is the fleet's not putting to ſea 'till the ſpring, though orders were given for it in the preceding winter. His catholic majeſty, Charles II. having eſpouſed a princeſs of the houſe of Neubourg, ſiſter to the reigning empreſs, and to the queen of Portugal, demanded an Engliſh fleet to conduct her ſafely to his dominions, which was readily granted; and indeed ſuch a compliment never had been refuſed even to the ſtates in war with us, becauſe it was always taken as a tacit confeſſion of our dominion at ſea. On the 24th of November, admiral Ruſſel ſailed with ſeven large men of war, and two yatchts, to Fluſhing, in order to receive her catholic majeſty, and her attendants; and had orders, as ſoon as the queen came on board, to hoiſt the union

union flag at the main-top-maſt head, and to wear it there as long as her majeſty was on board. The admiral had orders to put to ſea with the firſt fair wind, and was inſtructed to block up the harbour of Toulon, in order to prevent the French ſquadron there from coming out. He ſailed, after ſome delays for want of a fair wind, on the 7th of February, with a ſtout ſquadron of thirty men of war, under his command, and a fleet of four hundred merchantmen, bound for the Streights; and after a very tempeſtuous paſſage, landed her catholic majeſty, on the 16th, at the Groyne. From thence he ſailed to execute his other commiſſion; which having effected, and having left vice-admiral Killegrew, with the Mediterranean ſquadron, behind him; bore away with the firſt fair wind for England.

Vice-admiral Killegrew arrived at Cadiz on the 8th of April, where having, according to his inſtructions, taken all poſſible care of the trade, and having been joined by two Dutch men of war, the Guelderland and Zurickzee, he was next to proceed from thence in order to attend the motions of the Toulon ſquadron. In this, however, he met with no ſmall difficulty, by reaſon of the ſtormy weather, which injured ſeveral ſhips of his ſquadron extreamly; and the two Dutch ſhips, one of 72, and the other of 62 guns, after loſing all their maſts, except a mizen, foundered. In repairing theſe unlucky accidents, a great deal of time was waſted; and, when he afterward got ſight of the French ſhips, they ſtretched away, and being cleaner ſhips, would not let our ſquadron come up with them; on which our admiral gave over the chace.

The French had been very induſtrious this year, in ſending a large fleet to ſea, early in the ſeaſon; for on the 1ſt or 2d of March, they embarked a great ſupply for Ireland, under the convoy of a ſquadron of 36 men of war, attended by four fire-ſhips, and five flutes, which were afterward joined by another ſquadron from Provence, with ſeveral tranſports; ſo that

that in all, they convoyed over 6000 men, beſide ammunition and money. On the 8th of April, they left the coaſts of that iſland, in order to return into the road of Breſt; which they did ſafely on the 23d, and then prepared to join their grand fleet, which had orders to aſſemble under the command of the count de Tourville.

While the French were thus employed, our councils were chiefly bent in ſending over a royal army, to be commanded by king William in perſon, to Ireland. This great deſign was brought to bear about the beginning of the month of June, when his majeſty left London, and embarked his forces on board 288 tranſports on the 11th, eſcorted by a ſquadron of ſix men of war, under Sir Cloudeſly Shovel: he ſailed for Carrickfergus, where he ſafely arrived on the 14th of the ſame month, and ſoon after diſmiſſed rear-admiral Shovel, with the Plymouth ſquadron, with orders to join the grand fleet; which he could not do, till it was too late.

There was nothing better underſtood in England, than the abſolute neceſſity of aſſembling early in the year, a ſtrong fleet in the channel. The nation's ſafety depended on this meaſure, ſince the king, and the greateſt part of his forces were abroad. Yet, for all this, our maritime proceedings were very ſlow, for which, various, and ſome ſcarcely credible cauſes are aſſigned. On the other hand, it was late before the Dutch ſent their fleet to ſea; and the Engliſh, knowing that nothing of conſequence could be done, till after their junction, were the leſs ſolicitous about putting themſelves in order, till they heard of their being at ſea.

The conduct of the French, in the mean time, was of quite another kind; for while the ſquadron before mentioned was gone to Ireland, orders were given for equipping a fleet of ſixty ſail at Breſt, which was to put to ſea by the end of May: and though they were forced by contrary winds, to put back again, yet on the

the 12th of June, they put to ſea in three ſquadrons, each ſquadron being divided into three diviſions: in all there were 78 men of war, 22 fire-ſhips, and the whole fleet carried upward of 4700 pieces of cannon, under admiral Tourville. On the 13th of June, they ſteered for the Engliſh coaſt, and the 20th found themſelves off the Lizard. The next day the admiral took ſome Engliſh fiſhing-boats, and after having paid the people who were on board for their fiſh, he ſet them at liberty again; and theſe were the men, ſuch was our ſupineneſs! that firſt brought advice of the arrival of the French fleet on our coaſt.

The earl of Torrington was at St. Helen's, when he received this news, which muſt have ſurprized him very much, ſince he was ſo far from expecting any advice of this kind, that he had no ſcouts to the weſtward. He put to ſea, however, with ſuch ſhips as he had, and ſtood to the ſouth-eaſt, on Midſummer-day, leaving his orders, that all the Engliſh and Dutch ſhips which could have notice, ſhould follow him. His whole ſtrength, when collected, conſiſted of about 34 men of war of ſeveral ſizes; and the three Dutch admirals had under their command 22 large ſhips. We need not wonder, therefore, that ſeeing himſelf out-numbered by above twenty ſail, he was not willing to riſk his own honour, and the nation's ſafety, upon ſuch unequal terms. But the queen, who was then regent, having been informed, that her father's adherents intended a general inſurrection; and that if the French fleet continued longer on the coaſt, this would certainly take effect; by advice of the privy-council, ſent him orders to fight at all events, in order to force the French fleet to withdraw. In obedience to this order, as ſoon as it was light, on the 30th of June, the admiral threw out the ſignal for drawing into a line, and bore down upon the enemy, while they were under ſail.

The ſignal for a battle was made about eight, when the French braced their head ſails to their maſts, in order

order to lie by. The action began about nine, when the Dutch ſquadron, which made the van of the united fleets, fell in with the van of the French, and put them into ſome diſorder. About half an hour after, our Blue ſquadron engaged their rear very warmly; but the Red, commanded by the earl of Torrington in perſon, which made the center of our fleet, could not come up till about ten: ſo that the Dutch were almoſt ſurrounded by the enemy. The admiral ſeeing their diſtreſs, drove between them and the enemy; and in that ſituation, anchored about five in the afternoon, when it grew calm: but diſcerning how much the Dutch had ſuffered, and how little probability there was of regaining any thing by renewing the fight, he weighed about nine at night, and retired eaſtward with the tide of flood.

The next day it was reſolved in a council of war, held in the afternoon, to preſerve the fleet, by retreating; and rather to deſtroy the diſabled ſhips, if they ſhould be preſſed by the enemy, than to hazard another engagement, by endeavouring to protect them. This reſolution was executed with as much ſucceſs as could be expected; which, however, was chiefly owing to want of experience in the French admirals: for by not anchoring when the Engliſh did, they were driven to a great diſtance, and by continuing to chace in a line of battle, inſtead of leaving every ſhip at liberty to do her utmoſt, they could never recover what they loſt by their firſt miſtake.

As ſoon as the earl of Torrington came to town, he was examined before the council; where he juſtified himſelf with great preſence of mind. The council, however, thought proper to commit his lordſhip to the Tower; and that they might leſſen the clamours of the crowd, and give ſome ſatisfaction to the Dutch, they directed a committee to repair to Sheerneſs, where they were to make a thorough enquiry into the real cauſes of this diſaſter.

After raiſing the ſiege of Limerick, king William returned into England; where, in a council held on the affairs of Ireland, which were ſtill in a very precarious condition, many of the great cities, and moſt of the convenient ports being ſtill held for king James, the earl of Marlborough propoſed a plan for the immediate reduction of that iſland. He obſerved firſt, that our fleet was now at ſea, and that of the French returned to Breſt; in which ſituation, therefore, there was nothing to be feared in relation to deſcents. He farther remarked, that there were at leaſt 5000 land forces lying idle in England, which might be embarked on board the fleet, even in this late ſeaſon of the year, and land time enough to perform conſiderable ſervice. The king readily accepted this offer, gave the command of the troops to the earl of Marlborough, and ſent orders to the admirals to ſend the great ſhips about to Chatham, and to take on board the remainder of the fleet, the forces ordered for this ſervice.

The admirals hoiſted their flag on board the Kent, a third rate; and having embarked the troops with all imaginable expedition, arrived with them before the harbour of Cork, on the 21ſt of September, in the afternoon. On the 23d, the forces were landed, and joined a body of between 3 and 4000 men, under the command of the duke of Wirtemberg; who, by an ill-timed diſpute about the command, had like to have ruined the whole expedition. The city of Cork was very well fortified, and had in it a body of 4000 men: but the earl of Marlborough having obſerved that the place was commanded by an adjacent hill, he ordered a battery to be erected there on the 24th; and after playing on the town for a few hours, made ſo conſiderable a breach, that on the 25th the generals reſolved to attack it. The beſieged were ſo terrified at this, that the Iriſh inſtantly capitulated. The reduction of Kingſale followed ſoon after.

The

The fleet arrived in the Downs on the 8th of October, bringing over with them, by the earl of Marlborough's deſire, the governor of Cork, and ſeveral perſons of quality, who were made priſoners when that city was taken. There the admirals received orders to divide their fleet into ſmall ſquadrons for ſeveral ſervices, and leave only a ſtrong ſquadron in the Downs, under the command of Sir Cloudeſly Shovel, who cruiſed the remaining part of the year in the Soundings, without any ſucceſs remarkable enough to deſerve notice.

The care of the adminiſtration to repair all paſt errors in naval affairs, and to retrieve the honour of the maritime powers, appeared viſibly in the meaſures taken for ſending a great fleet early to ſea, in the ſpring of the year 1691. In order to this, after the earl of Torrington was diſmiſſed from his command, Edward Ruſſel, Eſq; was appointed admiral and commander in chief, and immediately received inſtructions to uſe the utmoſt expedition in drawing together the ſhips of which his fleet was to be compoſed; and a liſt of them, to the number of 91, of which 57 were of the line of battle, was annexed to his inſtructions. He executed theſe directions with the utmoſt ſkill and diligence, and by the 7th of May was ready to put to ſea. His orders were to proceed in the Soundings, as ſoon as he ſhould be joined by the Dutch; and he was likewiſe directed to take care to block up the port of Dunkirk, in order to prevent the French privateers from diſturbing our trade. Theſe directions, however, were but indifferently executed; which our writers attribute to the ſlowneſs of the Dutch in ſending their ſhips to join the confederate fleet, which they had ſtipulated to do by the beginning of May. It is certain, that notwithſtanding all his ſkill and care, admiral Ruſſel found his fleet but indifferently manned, and ſcantily victualled; at the ſame time that he was ſo perplexed by his

orders, and with the difficulties ſtarted upon every occaſion by the Dutch admiral, who very probably was as much cramped by his; that a great part of the months of May and June were ſpent to very little purpoſe: and though the French fleet was not in ſuch forwardneſs this year as it had been the laſt, yet it was at ſea ſome time before ours had any intelligence of it.

Lewis XIV. ſeemed at this time to ſhew a ſingular vanity in maintaining a prodigious naval force, to make all Europe ſee how ſoon, and how effectually, his councils had been able to create a maritime power. He had at this time to deal with the Engliſh, Spaniards, and Dutch; and as he was now in the zenith of his glory, he exhauſted his treaſures, in order, had it been poſſible, to render himſelf maſter at ſea. He appointed the count d'Eſtrees, vice-admiral of France, to command in the Mediterranean a fleet conſiſting of four large men of war, 5 frigates, 26 gallies, and three bomb-veſſels: and, on the other hand, count Tourville was directed to aſſemble the grand fleet intended for the ocean. This fleet, though very conſiderable, and excellently provided with every thing neceſſary, yet was inferior in force to that of the confederates; and therefore count Tourville was inſtructed to avoid an engagement as much as poſſible, and to amuſe the enemy, by keeping as long as might be in the channel. It muſt be obſerved alſo, that a ſquadron had been ſent, under the command of the marquis de Neſmonde, to carry ſupplies of all ſorts for the relief of king James's army in Ireland.

The Smyrna fleet was expected home this ſpring; and as the Engliſh and Dutch had a joint concern therein, to the amount of upward of four millions ſterling, both nations were extreamly apprehenſive of its being attacked by the French. Preciſe orders were therefore ſent to admiral Ruſſel, to uſe his utmoſt care for its preſervation: this he performed with equal induſtry and ſucceſs; and then ſteered his courſe for the coaſt of France.

Arriving in this ſtation, Sir Cloudeſley Shovel was ſent to look into Breſt, where he ſaw about forty ſail coming out of that port; which proved to be a fleet of merchant-ſhips from Bretagne, eſcorted by three men of war. Sir Cloudeſley, to decoy theſe ſhips into his hands, made uſe of an excellent ſtratagem: he knew the French had intelligence that a ſmall ſquadron of their fleet had made prizes of ſeveral Engliſh merchantmen; laying hold, therefore, of this piece of falſe news, he ordered part of his ſquadron to put out French colours, and the reſt to take in theirs. By this method he thought to deceive the French, who might naturally ſuppoſe it that ſquadron with their prizes. This ſucceeded in part; but the enemy diſcovered the cheat before he was near enough to do much miſchief.

About the latter end of July, admiral Ruſſel fell in with a convoy going to the French fleet with freſh proviſions; ſome of theſe were taken, and from them he learnt that count Tourville had orders to avoid fighting, which he very punctually obeyed, keeping ſcouts at a conſiderable diſtance on all points of the compaſs by which he could be approached, and theſe being chaſed by ours, they immediately ran, making ſignals to others, that lay within them; ſo that it was impoſſible to come up with the body of their fleet.

Being ſenſible of the dangers that might attend this ſituation, the admiral wrote home for freſh orders, which he received; but found them ſo perplexed, that having intelligence of the French fleet's being gone into Breſt, he, in the beginning of Auguſt, purſuant to the reſolution of a council of war, returned to Torbay, from whence he wrote up to court to have his laſt orders explained. In return he was directed to put to ſea again, which he did; and notwithſtanding his frequent repreſentations of the inconvenience of having ſuch large ſhips expoſed to the rough weather, which uſually happens about the equinox; he was obliged to continue in the Soundings to the 2d of Sep-

September, when he met with ſuch a violent ſtorm, that after doing all that could be done for the preſervation of the fleet, it ſuſtained conſiderable damage, the Coronation, a ſecond rate, and the Harwich, a third rate, being loſt.

The whole nation were now convinced, that with reſpect to our honour and intereſt in this war, the management of affairs at ſea was chiefly to be regarded; and yet, by an unaccountable ſeries of wrong councils, the management of theſe affairs was worſe conducted than any other. The abſolute reduction of Ireland, and the war in Flanders, ſeemed to occupy the king's thoughts entirely; and the care of the navy was left wholly to the board of admiralty, who, to ſpeak in the ſofteſt terms, did not manage it much to the ſatisfaction of the nation. There were, beſide, ſome other things which contributed to hurt our maritime proceedings. A faction was grown up in the fleet againſt the admiral, and at the ſame time the government entertained a great jealouſy of many of the officers; though to this hour it remains a ſecret, whether it was, or was not, well founded. The truth appears to be, that king James was better known to the officers of the fleet, than to any other ſet of men in England; moſt of them had ſerved under him when lord high-admiral, and many had been preferred by him; which rendered it highly probable, they might have an eſteem for his perſon: but that any of theſe officers intended to act in his favour, in conjunction with a French force, againſt their country, is very unlikely: eſpecially if we conſider the unanimity with which they went into the revolution, which had been openly acknowleged, and they ſolemnly thanked for it by the convention. However it was, this is certain, that in parliament, at court, and in the navy, nothing was heard of but jealouſies, ill conduct, and want of ſufficient ſupplies for the ſervice; a kind of diſcourſe that laſted all the winter, and which anſwered very bad purpoſes.

In the ſpring of the year 1692, a little before the king went to Holland, he began to communicate his intentions, as to the employment of the fleet, to admiral Ruſſel, who, however, was very far from ſtanding in high favour: but his character, as an officer, and his known ſteadineſs in revolution-principles, ſupported him; and the king reſolved to confide the fleet to his care.

When Lewis XIV. perceived, that it was impoſſible to ſupport the war in Ireland any longer to advantage, he came to a reſolution of employing the forces that were ſtill left king James, to ſerve his purpoſe another way. With this view he concerted with the malecontents in England, an invaſion on the coaſt of Suſſex; and though for this deſign it was neceſſary to draw together a great number of tranſports, as well as a very conſiderable body of forces, yet he had both in readineſs, before it was ſo much as ſuſpected here. In ſhort, nothing was wanting to the execution of this deſign in the beginning of April, but the arrival of count d'Eſtrees's ſquadron of 12 men of war, which was to eſcort the embarkation; while the count de Tourville cruized in the channel with the grand fleet, which was alſo ready to put to ſea, but was detained by contrary winds. Things being in this ſituation, king James ſent over ſome agents to give his friends intelligence of his motions; and ſome of theſe people, in hopes of reward, gave the firſt clear account of the whole deſign to the government at home: upon which, order after order was ſent to admiral Ruſſel to haſten out to ſea, in whatever condition the fleet might be at this time.

King William, as ſoon as he arrived in Holland, took care to haſten the naval preparations with unuſual diligence; ſo that the fleet was ready to put to ſea much ſooner than had been expected. As for our admiral, he went on board in the beginning of May; and obſerving how great advantage the French might reap by the diviſion of our fleet, his firſt care was to write

write to court to desire, that a certain place might be fixed for their conjunction. In return to this, he had orders sent him to cruize between Cape la Hogue and the Isle of Wight, till the squadrons should join with him, though he had proposed the junction should be made off Beachy-head. However, he obeyed his orders as soon as he received them, and plyed it down through the sands, with a very scanty wind, contrary to the opinion of many of his officers, and all the pilots, who were against hazarding so great a fleet in so dangerous an attempt; and yet to this bold stroke of the admiral's, was owing all his following success.

On the 11th day of May, Russel sailed from Rye to St. Helen's, where he was joined by the English squadrons under Delaval and Carter; and by the Dutch squadrons, commanded by Allemonde, Callembergh, and Vandergoes. He set sail for the coast of France on the 18th day of May, with a fleet of 99 ships of the line, beside frigates and fire-ships.

Next day, about three o'clock in the morning, he discovered the enemy, under the count de Tourville, and threw out the signal for the line of battle, which by eight o'clock was formed in good order, the Dutch in the van, the blue division in the rear, and the red in the center. The French fleet did not exceed 63 ships of the line, and as they were to windward, Tourville might have avoided an engagement; but, he had received a positive order to fight, on the supposition that the Dutch and English squadrons had not joined. Tourville, therefore, bore down along-side of Russel's own ship, which he engaged at a very small distance. He fought him with great fury till one o'clock, when his rigging and sails being considerably damaged, his ship, the Rising Sun, that carried 104 cannon, was towed out of the line in great disorder. Nevertheless, the engagement continued till three, when the fleets were parted by a thick fog. When this abated, the enemy were descried flying to the northward; and Russel made the

ſignal for chaſing. Part of the blue ſquadron came up with the enemy about eight in the evening, and engaged them half an hour, during which admiral Carter was mortally wounded. At length, the French bore away for Conquet-Road, having loſt four ſhips in this day's action. Next day, about eight in the morning, they were diſcovered crowding away to the weſtward, and the combined fleets chaſed with all the ſail they could carry, until Ruſſel's foretop-maſt came by the board. Though he was retarded by this accident, they ſtill continued the purſuit, and he anchored near Cape la Hogue. On the 22d of the month, about ſeven in the morning, part of the French fleet was perceived near the Race of Alderney, ſome at anchor, and ſome driving to the eaſtward with the tide of flood. He, and the ſhips neareſt him, immediately ſlipt their cables and chaſed. The Riſing-Sun, having loſt her maſts, ran aſhore near Cherbourg, where ſhe was burned by Sir Ralph Delaval, together with the Admirable, another firſt rate, and the Conquerant of eighty guns. Eighteen other ſhips of their fleet ran into La Hogue, where they were attacked by Sir George Rooke, who deſtroyed them, and a great number of tranſports loaded with ammunition, in the midſt of a terrible fire from the enemy, and in ſight of the Iriſh camp. Sir John Aſhby, with his own ſquadron and ſome Dutch ſhips, purſued the reſt of the French fleet, which eſcaped through the Race of Alderney, by ſuch a dangerous paſſage as the Engliſh could not attempt, without expoſing their ſhips to the moſt imminent hazard.

This was a very mortifying defeat to the French king, who had been ſo long flattered with an uninterrupted ſeries of victories: and reduced James to the loweſt ebb of deſpondence, as it fruſtrated the whole ſcheme of his embarkation, and overwhelmed his friends in England with grief and deſpair. Some hiſtorians allege, that Ruſſel did not improve his victory

victory with all advantages that might have been obtained before the enemy recovered of their conſternation. But this is a malicious imputation; and a very ungrateful return for his manifold ſervices to the nation. He acted in this whole expedition with the genuine ſpirit of a Britiſh admiral: and, in a word, obtained ſuch a deciſive victory, that during the remaining part of the war, the French would not hazard another battle by ſea with the Engliſh.

Ruſſel having ordered Sir John Aſhby, and the Dutch admiral Callembergh, to ſteer toward Havre de Grace, and endeavour to deſtroy the remainder of the French fleet, ſailed back to St. Helen's, that the damaged ſhips might be refitted, and the fleet furniſhed with freſh ſupplies of proviſion and ammunition: but, his principal motive was to take on board a number of troops provided for a deſcent upon France, which had been projected by England and Holland, with a view to alarm and diſtract the enemy in their own dominions. In the latter end of July, 7000 men, commanded by the duke of Leinſter, embarked on board of tranſports, to be landed at St. Maloe's, Breſt, or Rochfort; and the nation conceived the moſt ſanguine hopes of this expedition. A council of war, conſiſting of land and ſea-officers, being held on board the Breda, to deliberate upon the ſcheme of the miniſtry, the members unanimouſly agreed, that the ſeaſon was too far advanced to put it in execution.

Nothing could be more inglorious for the Engliſh than their operations by ſea in the courſe of the ſummer 1693. The king had ordered the admirals to uſe all poſſible diſpatch in equipping the fleets, that they might block up the enemy in their own ports, and protect the commerce, which had ſuffered ſeverely from the French privateers. They were, however, ſo dilatory in their proceedings, that the ſquadrons of the enemy ſailed from their harbours before the Engliſh fleet could put to ſea. About

the middle of May it was aſſembled at St. Helen's, and took on board five regiments, intended for a deſcent on Breſt; but this enterprize was never attempted. When the Engliſh and Dutch ſquadrons joined, ſo as to form a very numerous fleet, the public expected they would undertake ſome expedition of importance; but the admirals were divided in their opinion, nor did their orders warrant their executing any ſcheme of conſequence. Killigrew and Delaval did not eſcape the ſuſpicion of being diſaffected to the ſervice; and France was ſaid to have maintained a ſecret correſpondence with the malecontents in England. Lewis had made ſurpriſing efforts to repair the damage which his navy had ſuſtained. He had purchaſed ſeveral large veſſels, and converted them into ſhips of war; he had laid an embargo on all the ſhipping of his kingdom, until his ſquadrons were manned: he had made a grand naval promotion, to encourage the officers and ſeamen; and this expedient produced a wonderful ſpirit of activity and emulation. In the month of May his fleet ſailed to the Mediterranean, in three ſquadrons, conſiſting of 71 capital ſhips, beſide bomb-ketches, fire-ſhips, and tenders.

In the beginning of June, the Engliſh and Dutch fleets ſailed down the channel. On the 6th, Sir George Rooke was detached to the Streights, with a ſquadron of 23 ſhips, as convoy to the Mediterranean trade. The great fleet returned to Torbay, while he purſued his voyage, having under his protection about 400 merchant ſhips belonging to England, Holland, Denmark, Sweden, Hamburgh, and Flanders. On the 16th, his ſcouts diſcovered part of the French fleet under Cape St. Vincent: next day their whole navy appeared, to the amount of 80 ſail. Rooke avoided engaging them, which he thought could only tend to their ruin; he directed the veſſels neareſt land to put into the firſt Spaniſh ports, while he ſtood off with the remainder; however a great number fell into the enemy's hands. The value of the loſs ſuſtained

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on this occaſion amounted to one million ſterling. Mean while Rooke ſtood off with a freſh gale, and on the 19th ſent home the Lark ſhip of war, with the news of his misfortune; then he bore away for the Madeiras, where, having taken in wood and water, he ſet ſail for Ireland; and in purſuance of orders, he joined the great fleet then cruiſing in the chops of the channel. On the 25th day of Auguſt, they returned to St. Helen's, and the four regiments were landed.

The French admirals, inſtead of purſuing Rooke to Madeira, made an unſucceſsful attempt upon Cadiz, and bombarded Gibraltar, where the merchants ſunk their ſhips, that they might not fall into the hands of the enemy. Then they ſailed along the coaſt of Spain, deſtroyed ſome Engliſh and Dutch veſſels at Malaga, Alicant, and other places; and returned in triumph to Toulon. About this period, Sir Francis Wheeler returned to England with his ſquadron, from an unfortunate expedition in the Weſt Indies. In conjunction with colonel Codrington, governor of the Leeward iſlands, he made unſucceſsful attempts upon the iſlands of Martinique and Dominique. Then he ſailed to Boſton in New England, with a view to concert an expedition againſt Quebec, which was judged impracticable. He afterward ſteered for Placentia in Newfoundland, which he would have attacked without heſitation; but the deſign was rejected by a majority of voices in the council of war. Thus diſappointed, he ſet ſail for England; and arrived at Portſmouth in a very ſhattered condition.

In November another effort was made to annoy the enemy. Commodore Benbow ſailed with a ſquadron of 12 capital ſhips, four bomb-ketches, and ten brigantines, to the coaſt of St. Malo; and anchoring within half a mile of the town, cannonaded and bombarded it for three days ſucceſſively. Then they landed on an iſland, where they burnt a convent. On the 19th, they took the advantage of a dark night,

night, a freſh gale, and a ſtrong tide, to ſend in a fire-ſhip, of a particular contrivance, ſtiled the Infernal, in order to burn the town; but, ſhe ſtruck upon a rock before ſhe arrived at the place, and the engineer was obliged to ſet her on fire, and retreat. She continued burning for ſome time, and at laſt blew up, with ſuch an exploſion as ſhook the whole town like an earthquake, unroofed 300 houſes, and broke all the glaſs and earthen ware for three leagues round. A capſtan, that weighed 200 pounds, was tranſported into the place, and falling upon a houſe, levelled it to the ground; the greateſt part of the wall toward the ſea tumbled down; and the inhabitants were overwhelmed with conſternation: ſo that a ſmall number of troops might have taken poſſeſſion without reſiſtance; but there was not a ſoldier on board. Nevertheleſs, the ſailors did conſiderable damage to the town of St. Malo, which had been a neſt of privateers that infeſted the Engliſh commerce. Though this attempt was executed with great ſpirit, and ſome ſucceſs, the clamours of the people became louder and louder. But if the Engliſh were diſcontented, the French were miſerable, in ſpite of all their victories. That kingdom laboured under a dreadful famine, occaſioned partly from unfavourable ſeaſons, and partly from the war, which had not left hands ſufficient to cultivate the ground. Notwithſtanding all the diligence and providence of their miniſtry, in bringing ſupplies of corn from Sweden and Denmark, their care in regulating the price, and furniſhing the markets, their liberal contributions for the relief of the indigent; multitudes periſhed of want, and the whole kingdom was reduced to poverty and diſtreſs. Lewis pined in the midſt of his ſucceſs. He ſaw his ſubjects exhauſted by a ruinous war, in which they had been involved by his ambition. He tampered with the allies apart, in hope of dividing and detaching them from the grand confederacy: he ſolicited the northern crowns to engage as mediators

for a general peace. A memorial was actually presented by the Daniſh miniſter to king William, by which it appears, that the French king would have been contented to purchaſe a peace with ſome conſiderable conceſſions. But the terms were rejected by the king of England, whoſe ambition and revenge were not yet gratified; and whoſe ſubjects, though heavy laden, could ſtill bear additional burdens.

King William having received intelligence of the deſign of the French upon Barcelona, endeavoured to prevent the junction of the Breſt and Toulon ſquadrons, by ſending Ruſſel to ſea as early as the fleet could be in a condition to ſail: but before he arrived at Portſmouth, the Breſt ſquadron had quitted that harbour. And a body of land-forces, intended for a deſcent upon the coaſt of France, under the command of general Tollemache, ſailed on the 29th of May, 1694, but effected nothing, and loſt their general.

After this unfortunate attempt, lord Berkeley, with the advice of a council of war, ſailed back for England; and at St. Helen's received orders from the queen to call a council, and deliberate in what manner the ſhips and forces might be beſt employed. They agreed to make ſome attempt upon the coaſt of Normandy. With this view they ſet ſail on the 5th day of July. They bombarded Dieppe, and Havre de Grace; and haraſſed the French troops, who marched after them along-ſhore. They alarmed the whole coaſt, and filled every town with ſuch conſternation, that they would have been abandoned by the inhabitants, had not they been detained by military force.

During theſe tranſactions, admiral Ruſſel with the grand fleet ſailed for the Mediterranean; and being joined by rear-admiral Neville from Cadiz, together with Callembergh and Evertzen, he ſteered toward Barcelona, which was beſieged by the French fleet and army. At his approach, Tourville retired with precipitation into the harbour of Toulon; and Noailles aban-

abandoned his enterprize. The Spaniſh affairs were in ſuch a deplorable condition, that without this timely aſſiſtance, the kingdom muſt have been undone. While he continued in the Mediterranean, the French admiral durſt not venture to appear at ſea; and all his projects were diſconcerted. After having aſſerted the honour of the Britiſh flag in thoſe ſeas during the whole ſummer, he ſailed in the beginning of November to Cadiz, where, by an expreſs order of the king, he paſſed the winter; during which he took ſuch precautions for preventing Tourville from paſſing the Streights, that he did not think proper to riſque the paſſage.

While admiral Ruſſel aſſerted the Britiſh dominion in the Mediterranean-ſea, the French coaſts were again inſulted in the channel by a ſeparate fleet, under the command of lord Berkeley, of Straton, aſſiſted by the Dutch admiral Allemonde. On the fourth day of July, 1695, they anchored before St. Malos, which they bombarded from nine ketches covered by ſome frigates, which ſuſtained more damage than was done to the enemy. On the 6th, Granville underwent the ſame fate; and then the fleet returned to Portſmouth. The bomb-veſſels being refitted, the fleet ſailed round to the Downs, where 400 ſoldiers were embarked for an attempt upon Dunkirk, under the direction of Meeſters, the famous Dutch engineer: but to no effect, owing to the ill underſtanding between the Dutch engineer and the Engliſh officers.

A ſquadron had been ſent to the Weſt Indies, under the joint command of captain Robert Wilmot and colonel Lilingſton, with 1200 land-forces. They had inſtructions to co-operate with the Spaniards in Hiſpaniola, againſt the French ſettlements on that iſland, and to deſtroy their fiſheries on the banks of Newfoundland, in their return. They were accordingly joined by 1700 Spaniards, raiſed by the preſident of St. Domingo; but, inſtead of proceeding

againſt Petit-Guavas, according to the directions they had received, Wilmot took poſſeſſion of Fort-Francois, and plundered the country for his own private advantage, notwithſtanding the remonſtrances of Lilingſton.

Notwithſtanding the great efforts the nation had made to maintain ſuch a number of different ſquadrons for the protection of commerce, as well as to annoy the enemy, the trade ſuffered ſeverely from the French privateers, which ſwarmed in both channels, and made prize of many rich veſſels. The marquis of Carmaerthen being ſtationed with a ſquadron off the Scilly iſlands, miſtook a fleet of merchant-ſhips for the Breſt fleet, and retired with precipitation to Milford-Haven. In conſequence of this retreat, the privateers took a good number of ſhips from Barbadoes, and five from the Eaſt Indies, valued at a million ſterling. The merchants renewed their clamour againſt the commiſſioners of the admiralty, who produced their orders and inſtructions in their own defence. The marquis of Carmaerthen had been guilty of a flagrant miſconduct on this occaſion; but the chief ſource of thoſe national calamities was the circumſtantial intelligence tranſmitted to France from time to time, by the malcontents of England: for, they were actuated by a ſcandalous principle, which they ſtill retain, namely, that of rejoicing in the diſtreſs of their country.

Toward the end of the year 1696, the nation was again alarmed with the report of an invaſion. It was known that the French were fitting out a ſtrong ſquadron at Breſt; and for what ſervice, the intelligence our ſecretaries had, could not inform them. Sir Cloudeſley Shovel, therefore, was ſent with a conſiderable force to block them up, which however the French avoided; and it was then given out at home, that our vigilance had diſappointed the deſigns of the enemy. In this we only deceived ourſelves; for our merchants quickly came at the knowlege of the true

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ſcheme, which was the ſending a ſtrong ſquadron into the Weſt Indies, to attack ſome of the Spaniſh plantations in thoſe parts. The Sieur Pointis was the perſon who formed the plan of this undertaking, and who had been no leſs than three years in bringing it to bear.

The Spaniards were not a little inflamed by the ſucceſs of Pointis in America, where he took Carthagene, in which he found a booty amounting to eight millions of crowns. Having ruined the fortifications of the place, and received advice that an Engliſh ſquadron, under admiral Nevil, had arrived in the Weſt Indies, with a deſign to attack him in his return, he bore away for the ſtreights of Bahama. On the 22d day of May, he fell in with the Engliſh fleet, and one of his fly-boats was taken; but, ſuch was his dexterity, or good fortune, that he eſcaped, after having been purſued five days. After ſome other diſappointments, Neville ſailed through the gulph of Florida to Virginia, where he died of chagrin; and the command of the fleet devolved to captain Dilkes, who arrived in England on the 24th day of October, with a ſhattered ſquadron half manned, to the unſpeakable mortification of the people; who flattered themſelves with the hopes of wealth and glory from this expedition, Certain it is, the ſervice was greatly obſtructed by the faction among the officers, which with reſpect to the nation had all the effects of treachery and miſconduct.

Our limits will not admit our entering into the detail of any naval tranſactions but thoſe which either in themſelves or in their conſequences were of importance: and by this time the commerce and maritime ſtrength of the kingdom, were ſo far advanced, as to render our tranſactions at ſea very numerous and of great influence to our proceedings by land. On ſo precarious an element, many fleets are fitted out which return without effecting any thing; many ſuch we muſt occaſionally overlook, that we may not omit

others

others that merit ſpecial notice. Peace was concluded between England, Spain, and Holland, on the one ſide, and the crown of France on the other, at Ryſwick, on September 10th, 1697, by which the French king acknowleged king William's title, and, as the French hiſtorians ſay, gave up more towns than the confederates could have taken in twenty years: but this was not from any principle either of juſtice or moderation, but with views of quite another ſort, as was foreſeen then, and in the ſpace of a few years fully appeared.

We have now brought this long war to a concluſion, and it is but juſt that we ſhould offer the reader ſome reflections on the conſequences of it, to the naval power and commerce of England. Firſt then, with reſpect to our navy, we have ſeen that the war opened with a very bad proſpect; for though we had an excellent fleet, a vaſt number of able ſeamen, and, perhaps, as good officers as any in the world, yet the French got earlier to ſea than we did, appeared with a greater force, and managed it better, though we acted then in conjunction with Holland, and according to the general rule of political reaſoning, ought to have had it in our power to have driven the French out of the ſea.

All this proceeded from the ſudden change in our government, which, perhaps, left many of our officers diſaffected, and many more without having any proper degree of credit at court. Want of confidence between the adminiſtration and the commanders of our fleets, is always deſtructive to our maritime power; and therefore, inſtead of wondering that things went on ſo ill, we may with more juſtice be ſurpriſed, that they went no worſe. Our party-diviſions not only enervated our own ſtrength, but created ſuch jealouſies between us and the Dutch, as blaſted the fruits that muſt have been otherwiſe produced by this cloſe and fortunate union of the maritime powers.

But

But when once the government was thoroughly ſettled, and we acted cordially in conjunction with the States, it ſoon became evident, that we were much more than a match for France at ſea: and on the whole, the French ſuffered much more in their maritime power than we: conſequently, if we conſider the ſituation of both nations, the eaſe with which it was in our power to repair our loſſes, and the almoſt inſuperable difficulties the French had to ſtruggle with in this reſpect, we muſt conclude, that not only they, but the whole world had full evidence from thence, of their being no way able to ſtruggle againſt the Dutch and us in a maritime war. To make this ſtill more apparent, king William, in his ſpeech to both houſes of parliament, at the concluſion of the war, aſſerted our naval force to be near double what it was at his acceſſion.

It will now be neceſſary to take a retroſpective view of ſome paſt affairs, in order to preſerve a connexion with others to come. The revolution brought back to Scotland ſeveral worthy patriots, whom the jealouſy of former reigns had driven into other countries. Theſe, from the time of their return, thought of nothing ſo much as the putting of the trade of Scotland, which had been hitherto in a manner totally neglected, on a proper footing. With this view they procured, in 1693, an act of the Scots parliament, for the encouragement of foreign commerce; and in conſequence of that law, another in 1695, for ſetting up an Eaſt India company. When this was done, it was found requiſite to take in ſubſcriptions: and, as it was not eaſy to find money enough in Scotland, for the carrying on ſo expenſive a deſign, the company's agents endeavoured to procure ſubſcriptions abroad, particularly at London, Hamburgh, and Amſterdam, in which they were certainly ſufficiently ſupported both by the royal and legiſlative authority.

But this ſcheme, as might be foreſeen, gave great umbrage to the Eaſt India companies in England and Holland,

Holland, and they took the beſt meaſures they could to hinder the ſucceſs of theſe applications. This, however, had ſome very untoward conſequences, ſince theſe companies could effect nothing but by the interpoſition of their reſpective governments; and by this means his majeſty's name, as king of England and ſtadtholder of Holland, came to be made uſe of, to thwart theſe deſigns which actually had his ſanction as king of Scotland.

In the enſuing ſeſſion of parliament in 1698, the government found itſelf not a little embarraſſed with the affairs of the Engliſh Eaſt India company. A ſcheme had been offered for erecting a new company, which was to advance two millions for the public ſervice at eight per cent. and were to carry on this trade by a joint ſtock. To make way for this, it was propoſed to diſſolve the old company. The pretence for diſſolving it, was a clauſe in that very charter, reſerving ſuch a power to the crown. But as it was not ſo much as aſſerted, that ſince the granting this new charter, they had done any thing that ought to ſubject them to a diſſolution, by moderate and impartial people, who knew nothing of ſtock-jobbing, this was thought not a little hard.

The Eaſt India company in Scotland, finding their deſigns ſo vigorouſly oppoſed, and having, as they conceived, very large powers veſted in them by the late act of parliament, reſolved to turn their endeavours another way for the preſent, and to attempt the ſettlement of a colony in America, on the Iſthmus of Darien. This is that narrow track of country which unites the two continents of North and South America, and conſequently muſt be very advantageouſly ſeated for commerce. As the inhabitants had never been conquered by the Spaniards, and, as the new colony ſent thither, actually purchaſed their lands from the native proprietors, and ſettled there by conſent, it was apprehended, that the Spaniards had no right to diſpute the eſtabliſhment; and

that if they did, the planters might defend themſelves without involving the nation in a war. But it was ſoon found, that great miſtakes had been made in relation to the conſequences expected from it. For the Spaniards not only conſidered it as an invaſion on their rights, and began to take our ſhips upon it; but the Engliſh alſo grew very uneaſy, and made warm repreſentations to his majeſty on this ſubject: this produced private orders to the governors of Jamaica, and other neighbouring plantations, not only to avoid all commerce with the Scots at Darien, but even to deny them proviſions. As it was foreſeen that theſe meaſures would naturally occaſion great diſturbances in that part of the world, it was found requiſite to ſend a ſquadron thither, under admiral Benbow, to protect our trade, to awe the Spaniards, and to hinder the increaſe of pirates, which had been very great ever ſince the concluſion of the peace; occaſioned chiefly by the multitude of privateers that were then thrown out of employment.

In Scotland diſputes ran very high on the ruin of the Darien colony. Things were printed on both ſides on purpoſe to inflame the minds of the people, and many thought that it would at laſt have created a breach between the two nations. The coldneſs of the king's temper prevented this; he could not either be heated by the Engliſh repreſentations, or blown into a paſſion by the haſty reſolutions of the Scots parliament. His moderation toward each of them, if it did not bring them both to a good temper, which was indeed never effected in his reign, yet it gave him an opportunity to keep the wiſeſt people in England and in Scotland, firm to his government, while in the mean time many unforeſeen accidents brought about the ruin of the Scots company; ſo that the ends of their Engliſh adverſaries were anſwered, without their having recourſe to any harſh means.

The death of the king of Spain now changed all the affairs of Europe, and forced us, who had ſo

lately

lately made a very neceſſary peace, upon a new, expenſive, and dangerous war. It is certain that the king did all he could to avoid it; and that this was the great, if not the ſole foundation of the two famous partition-treaties, which were ſo much exclaimed againſt by thoſe whoſe ſteady oppoſition to a war, had firſt brought the king and his miniſtry to think of them.

When the reſolution was once taken to have recourſe again to arms, in order to preſerve the balance of power, the firſt care was for the fleet, which his majeſty reſolved ſhould be much ſuperior to that of the enemy. Preparatory to this was the new commiſſion of the admiralty in the ſpring of the year 1701, at the head of which was placed the earl of Pembroke, a man univerſally beloved and eſteemed.

The command of the fleet was very judiciouſly beſtowed upon Sir George Rooke, who, on the 2d of July, went on board the Triumph in the Downs, where he hoiſted the flag. He ſoon after ſailed to Spithead, where he was ſpeedily joined by the reſt of the fleet, conſiſting of 48 ſhips of the line, beſide frigates, fire-ſhips, and ſmall veſſels. He had under him ſome of the greateſt ſeamen of the age, viz. Sir Cloudeſley Shovel, Sir Thomas Hopſon, John Benbow, Eſq; and Sir John Munden: he was not long after reinforced by 15 Dutch men of war of the line, beſide frigates and ſmall veſſels, under the command of lieutenant-admiral Allemonde, vice-admiral Vandergoes, and rear-admiral Waeſſenaar.

Toward the latter end of Auguſt he ſailed from Torbay, and the ſecond of September he detached vice-admiral Benbow with a ſtout ſquadron for the Weſt Indies; and as this was the principal buſineſs of the fleet, and indeed a thing in itſelf of the higheſt importance, the admiral detached a ſtrong ſquadron of Engliſh ſhips under the command of Sir John Munden, and ten ſail of Dutch men of war, beſide frigates, under rear-admiral Waeſſenaar, to ſee the

Weſt India ſquadron well into the ſea. The French expected that this fleet would have actually proceeded to the Mediterranean; and it was to confirm them in this belief, we had demanded the free uſe of the Spaniſh harbours: but this was only to conceal things, and to gain an opportunity of ſending a ſquadron early to the Weſt Indies, without putting it in the power of the French to procure any exact account of its ſtrength: the admiral, after performing this, cruiſed according to his inſtructions for ſome time, and then returned with the largeſt ſhips into the Downs.

After this fleet was ſent to ſea, his majeſty, on the 18th of January, thought proper to revoke his letters patent to the commiſſioners of the admiralty, and to appoint Thomas earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, lord high admiral of England and Ireland, and of the foreign plantations. The deſign of this promotion was, to be rid of the diſadvantages attending a board: and this end it anſwered perfectly.

The war was now the great object of attention, as well here as in France, though hitherto it was not declared; and negotiations were ſtill carried on in Holland, as if both parties had inclined to an amicable determination of theſe differences; which was, in reality, the intention of neither. In the midſt of our preparations, however, care was taken of a point which nearly concerned trade, and that was uniting the two Eaſt India companies; which was done under an act of arbitration: and this agreement was the foundation of that company which has ſubſiſted with ſo great credit to themſelves, and benefit to the nation, ever ſince.

King William's extraordinary attention to buſineſs is thought to have haſtened his death, which happened on the 8th of March, 1701-2, about eight in the morning. He died, as he lived, with great ſteadineſs of mind; and ſhewed himſelf in his laſt moments, as much a hero as he had ever done in the field. Never any prince better underſtood the general intereſt of Europe,

Europe, or purſued it with greater firmneſs; and whatever unlucky accidents fell out in his reign to the prejudice of our affairs, were not ſo much owing to any miſtakes in his conduct, as to the circumſtances of the times, and our own unfortunate diviſions.

Queen Anne aſcended the throne on the eighth of March, 1702, in the flower of her age, being then about thirty-eight. She had ſhewn a very juſt moderation in her conduct from the time of the revolution, and knew how to temper her relation to the ſtate, with that which ſhe bore to her family; of which ſhe gave a remarkable inſtance in the latter part of her life, by procuring the iſland of Sicily for her couſin the duke of Savoy: and ſhe opened her reign by a very wiſe and well-conſidered ſpeech to her privy-council. She expreſſed plainly her opinion for carrying on the preparations againſt France, and ſupporting the allies; and ſaid, ſhe would countenance thoſe who concurred with her in maintaining the preſent conſtitution and eſtabliſhment.

The queen, in conformity to this declaration, wrote to the States-general to aſſure them, that ſhe would follow exactly the ſteps of her predeceſſor, in the ſteady maintenance of the common cauſe againſt the common enemy: and the prudent choice of her ſervants, was ſufficient to demonſtrate the reality of the queen's intentions.

The firſt expedition in this reign, was that of Sir John Munden, rear-admiral of the Red, which was intended for intercepting a ſquadron of French ſhips, that were to ſail from the Groyne, in order to carry the new vice-roy of Mexico to the Spaniſh Weſt Indies. He ſailed on the 12th of May, 1702, with eight ſhips of the third rate, the Saliſbury a fourth rate, and two frigates. On the 28th day of the month, he chaſed 14 ſail of ſhips into Corunna. Then he called a council of war, in which it was agreed, that as the place was ſtrongly fortified, and by the intelligence they had received, it appeared

that 17 of the enemy's ſhips of war rode at anchor in the harbour; it would be expedient for them to follow the latter part of their inſtructions, by which they were directed to cruiſe in ſoundings for the protection of the trade. They returned accordingly; and being diſtreſſed by want of proviſions, came into port, to the general diſcontent of the nation. For the ſatisfaction of the people, Sir John Munden was tried by a court-martial, and acquitted; but as this miſcarriage had rendered him very unpopular, prince George, who was now created lord high-admiral, diſmiſſed him from the ſervice.

King William had projected a ſcheme to reduce Cadiz, with intention to act afterward againſt the Spaniſh ſettlements in the Weſt Indies. This deſign queen Anne reſolved to put in execution. Sir George Rooke commanded the fleet, and the duke of Ormond was appointed general of the land-forces deſtined for this expedition. The combined ſquadrons amounted to fifty ſhips of the line, excluſive of frigates, fireſhips, and ſmaller veſſels; and the number of ſoldiers embarked was not far ſhort of 14,000. In the latter end of June the fleet ſailed from St. Helen's; and on the 12th of Auguſt they anchored at the diſtance of two leagues from Cadiz: but the attempt miſcarried. However, captain Hardy, having been ſent to water in Lagos-bay, received intelligence, that the galleons from the Weſt Indies had put into Vigo, under convoy of a French ſquadron. He ſailed immediately in queſt of Sir George Rooke, who was now on his voyage back to England; and falling in with him on the 6th day of October, communicated the ſubſtance of what he had learned. Rooke immediately called a council of war, in which it was determined to alter their courſe and attack the enemy at Vigo.

He forthwith detached ſome ſmall veſſels for intelligence, and received a confirmation, that the galleons, and the ſquadron, commanded by Chateau Renault,

Renault, were actually in the harbour. They ſailed thither, and appeared before the place on the 11th day of October. The paſſage into the harbour was narrow, ſecured by batteries, forts, and breaſt-works on each ſide; by a ſtrong boom, conſiſting of iron chains, topmaſts, and cables, moored at each end to a ſeventy gun ſhip, and fortified within by five ſhips of the ſame ſtrength, lying athwart the channel, with their broad-ſides to the offing. As the firſt and ſecond rates of the combined fleets were too large to enter, the admirals ſhifted their flags into ſmaller ſhips; and a diviſion of 25 Engliſh and Dutch ſhips of the line, with their frigates, fireſhips and ketches, was deſtined for the ſervice. In order to facilitate the attack, the duke of Ormond landed with 2500 men, at the diſtance of ſix miles from Vigo, and took by aſſault a fort and platform of forty pieces of cannon, at the entrance of the harbour.

The Britiſh enſign was no ſooner ſeen flying at the top of this fort, than the ſhips advanced to the attack. Vice-admiral Hopſon, in the Torbay, crowding all his ſail, ran directly againſt the boom, which was broken by the firſt ſhock; then the whole ſquadron entered the harbour, through a prodigious fire from the enemy's ſhips and batteries. Theſe laſt, however, were ſoon ſtormed and taken by the grenadiers who had been landed. The great ſhips lay againſt the forts at each ſide of the harbour, which in a little time they ſilenced; though vice-admiral Hopſon narrowly eſcaped from a fireſhip by which he was boarded. After a very vigorous engagement, the French finding themſelves unable to cope with ſuch an adverſary, reſolved to deſtroy their ſhips and galleons, that they might not fall into the hands of the victors. They accordingly burned and ran aſhore eight ſhips and as many advice-boats; but the ten ſhips of war were taken, together with eleven galleons. Though they had ſecured the beſt part of their plate and merchandize before the Engliſh fleet arrived, the

value of fourteen million of pieces of eight, in plate and rich commodities, was deſtroyed in ſix galleons that periſhed; but, about half that value was brought off by the conquerors: ſo that this was a dreadful blow to the enemy, and a noble acquiſition to the allies. Immediately after this exploit Sir George Rooke was joined by Sir Cloudeſley Shovel, who had been ſent out with a ſquadron to intercept the galleons. This officer was left to bring home the prizes and diſmantle the fortifications, while Rooke returned in triumph to England.

The glory which the Engliſh acquired in this expedition was in ſome meaſure tarniſhed by the conduct of ſome officers in the Weſt Indies. Thither admiral Benbow had been detached with a ſquadron of ten ſail, in the courſe of the preceding year. At Jamaica he received intelligence, that monſieur Du Caſſe was in the neighbourhood of Hiſpaniola, and reſolved to beat up to that iſland. At Leogane he fell in with a French ſhip of fifty guns, which her captain ran aſhore and blew up. He took ſeveral other veſſels, and having alarmed Petit-Guavas, on the 19th of Auguſt, diſcovered the enemy's ſquadron near St. Martha, conſiſting of ten ſail, ſteering along ſhore. He formed the line; and an engagement enſued, in which he was very ill ſeconded by ſome of his captains. Nevertheleſs, the battle continued till night, and he determined to renew it next morning, when he perceived all his ſhips at the diſtance of three or four miles aſtern, except the Ruby, commanded by captain George Walton, who joined him in plying the enemy with chace-guns. On the 21ſt, theſe two ſhips engaged the French ſquadron; and the Ruby was ſo diſabled, that the admiral was obliged to ſend her back to Jamaica. Next day the Greenwich, commanded by Wade, was five leagues aſtern; and the wind changing, the enemy had the advantage of the weather-gage. On the 23d, the admiral renewed the battle with his ſingle ſhip, unſuſtained by the reſt of the

the ſquadron. On the 24th, his leg was ſhattered by a chain-ſhot; notwithſtanding which accident, he remained on the quarter-deck in a cradle, and continued the engagement. One of the largeſt ſhips of the enemy lying like a wreck upon the water, four ſail of the Engliſh ſquadron poured their broad-ſides into her, and then ran to leeward, without paying any regard to the ſignal for battle. Then the French, bearing down upon the admiral with their whole force, ſhot away his maintopſail-yard, and damaged his rigging in ſuch a manner, that he was obliged to lie by and refit, while they took their diſabled ſhip in tow. During this interval, he called a council of his captains, and expoſtulated with them on their behaviour. They obſerved, that the French were very ſtrong, and adviſed him to deſiſt. He plainly perceived that he was betrayed, and with the utmoſt reluctance returned to Jamaica, having not only loſt a leg, but alſo received a large wound in his face, and another in his arm, while he in perſon boarded the French admiral.

Exaſperated at the treachery of his captains, he granted a commiſſion to rear-admiral Whetſtone and other officers to hold a court-martial, and try them for cowardice. Hudſon, of the Pendennis, died before his trial: Kirby and Wade were convicted, and ſentenced to be ſhot: Conſtable, of the Windſor, was caſhiered and impriſoned: Vincent, of the Falmouth, and Fogg, the admiral's own captain of the Breda, were convicted of having ſigned a paper, that they would not fight under Benbow's command; but, as they behaved gallantly in the action, the court inflicted upon them no other puniſhment than that of a proviſional ſuſpenſion. Captain Walton had likewiſe joined in the conſpiracy while he was heated with the fumes of intoxication; but he afterward renounced the engagement, and fought with admirable courage until his ſhip was diſabled. The boiſterous manners of Benbow had produced this baſe confederacy. He was a rough ſeaman; but remarkably brave,

brave, honeſt, and experienced. He took this miſcarriage ſo much to heart, that he became melancholy; and his grief co-operating with the fever occaſioned by his wounds, put a period to his life. Wade and Kirby were ſent home in the Briſtol; and, on their arrival at Plymouth, ſhot on board of the ſhip, by virtue of a dead-warrant for their immediate execution, which had lain there for ſome time. The ſame precaution had been taken in all the weſtern ports, in order to prevent applications in their favour. When Du Caſſe arrived at Carthagene, he wrote a letter to Benbow to this effect:—"Sir, I had little hope on Monday laſt, but to have ſupped in your cabin; but it pleaſed God to order it otherwiſe. I am thankful for it. As for thoſe cowardly captains who deſerted you, hang them up; for, by God, they deſerve it. Yours, Du Caſſe."

The grand fleet was commanded in 1703 by Sir Cloudeſley Shovel: it conſiſted at firſt of 27 ſhips of the line, and the admiral had under him rear-admiral Byng, and Sir Stafford Fairborne; and being afterward reinforced with eight ſhips more, theſe were commanded by vice-admiral Leake. His inſtructions were very large; but all of them might be reduced to theſe three heads, viz. annoying the enemy, aſſiſting our allies, and protecting our trade. He purſued his inſtructions as far as he was able; and having ſecured the Turkey fleet, he intended to have ſtaid ſome time upon the coaſt of Italy. But the Dutch admiral, who was with him, informed him, that both his orders and his victuals required his thinking of a ſpeedy return; and it was with much difficulty that Sir Cloudeſley Shovel prevailed upon him to go to Leghorn. In the mean time, the inſtructions he had to ſuccour the Cevennois, who were then in arms againſt the French king, were found impracticable. This admiral having renewed the peace with the piratical ſtates of Barbary, returned to England, without having been able to execute

any

any thing that looked like the reſult of a concerted ſcheme. The nation naturally murmured at this fruitleſs expedition, by which it had incurred ſuch a conſiderable expence. The merchants complained that they were ill ſupplied with convoys. The ſhips of war were victualled with damaged proviſion; and every article of the marine being miſmanaged, the blame fell upon thoſe who acted as council to the lord high-admiral.

Nor were the arms of England by ſea much more ſucceſsful in the Weſt Indies. Sir George Rooke, in the preceding year, had detached from the Mediterranean captain Hovenden Walker, with ſix ſhips of the line and tranſports, having on board four regiments of ſoldiers, for the Leeward iſlands. Being joined at Antigua by ſome troops under colonel Coddrington, they made a deſcent upon the iſland Guadaloupe, where they razed the fort, burned the town, ravaged the country, and reimbarked with precipitation, in conſequence of a report that the French had landed 900 men on the back of the iſland. They retired to Nevis, where they muſt have periſhed by famine, had not they been providentially relieved by vice-admiral Graydon, in his way to Jamaica. This officer had been ſent out with three ſhips to ſucceed Benbow, and was convoyed about 150 leagues by two other ſhips of the line. He had not ſailed many days, when he fell in with part of the French ſquadron, commanded by Du Caſſe, on their return from the Weſt Indies, very foul and richly laden. Captain Cleland of the Montague engaged the ſternmoſt; but he was called off by a ſignal from the admiral, who proceeded on his voyage without taking farther notice of the enemy.

The only exploit that tended to the diſtreſs of the enemy, was performed by rear-admiral Dilkes, who, in the month of July, ſailed to the coaſt of France with a ſmall ſquadron: and, in the neighbourhood of Granville,

Granville, took or deſtroyed about 40 ſhips and their convoy. Yet this damage was inconſiderable when compared to that which the Engliſh navy ſuſtained from the dreadful tempeſt that began to blow on the 27th day of November, accompanied with ſuch flaſhes of lightning, and peals of thunder, as overwhelmed the whole kingdom with conſternation. The houſes in London ſhook from their foundations, and ſome of them falling, buried the inhabitants in their ruins: but the chief national damage fell upon the navy. Thirteen ſhips of war were loſt, together with 1500 ſeamen, including rear-admiral Beaumont, who had been employed in obſerving the Dunkirk ſquadron, and was then at anchor in the Downs, where his ſhip foundered. This great loſs, however, was repaired with incredible diligence, to the aſtoniſhment of all Europe. The queen immediately iſſued orders for building a greater number of ſhips than that which had been deſtroyed; and ſhe exerciſed her bounty for the relief of the ſhipwrecked ſeamen, and the widows of thoſe who were drowned, in ſuch a manner as endeared her to all her ſubjects.

The emperor having declared his ſecond ſon Charles, king of Spain, he was conveyed to Portugal by the Engliſh fleet, under Sir George Rooke. The admiral having landed king Charles at Liſbon, ſent a ſquadron to cruiſe off cape Spartell, under the command of rear-admiral Dilkes, who, on the 12th of March, 1704, engaged and took three Spaniſh ſhips of war, bound from St. Sebaſtian to Cadiz. On the 16th day of June, Sir George Rooke, being joined by Sir Cloudeſley Shovel, reſolved to proceed up the Mediterranean in queſt of the French fleet, which had ſailed thither from Breſt, and which Rooke had actually diſcovered in the preceding month, on their voyage to Toulon. On the 17th day of July, the admiral called a council of war in the road of Tetuan, when they reſolved to make an attempt upon Gibraltar, which was but ſlenderly provided with a garriſon.

Thither

Thither they ſailed, and on the 21ſt day of the month the prince of Heſſe landed on the iſthmus with eighteen hundred marines: next day the admiral gave orders for cannonading the town; and perceiving that the enemy were driven from their fortifications at the ſouth molehead, commanded captain Whitaker to arm all the boats, and aſſault that quarter. The captains Hicks and Jumper, who happened to be neareſt the mole, immediately manned their pinnaces, and entered the fortifications ſword in hand. The Spaniards ſprung a mine, by which two lieutenants and about 100 men were killed or wounded. Nevertheleſs, the two captains took poſſeſſion of a platform, and kept their ground until they were ſuſtained by captain Whitaker and the reſt of the ſeamen, who took by ſtorm a redoubt between the mole and the town. Then the governor capitulated; and the prince of Heſſe entered the place, amazed at the ſucceſs of this attempt, conſidering the ſtrength of the fortifications, which might have been defended by fifty men againſt a numerous army.

A ſufficient garriſon being left with his highneſs, the admiral returned to Tetuan to take in wood and water; and when he ſailed, on the 9th day of Auguſt, he deſcried the French fleet, to which he gave chace with all the ſail he could ſpread. On the 13th he came up with it, as it lay in a line off Malaga ready to receive him, to the number of 52 great ſhips, and 24 gallies, under the command of the count de Tholouſe, high-admiral of France, with the inferior flags of the white and blue diviſions. The Engliſh fleet conſiſted of 53 ſhips of the line, excluſive of frigates; but they were inferior to the French in number of guns and men, as well as in weight of metal; and altogether unprovided of gallies, from which the enemy reaped great advantage during the engagement. A little after ten in the morning, the battle began with equal fury on both ſides, and continued to rage with doubtful ſucceſs till two in the after-

afternoon, when the van of the French gave way: nevertheleſs the fight was maintained till night, when the enemy bore away to leeward. The wind ſhifted before morning, the French gained the weather-gage; but they made no uſe of this advantage: for two ſucceſſive days, the Engliſh admiral endeavoured to renew the engagement, which the count de Tholouſe declined, and at laſt he diſappeared. The loſs was pretty equal on both ſides, though not a ſingle ſhip was taken or deſtroyed by either: but the honour of the day certainly remained with the Engliſh.

Philip king of Spain, alarmed at the reduction of Gibraltar, ſent the marquis de Villadarias with an army to retake it. The ſiege laſted four months; during which the prince of Heſſe exhibited many ſhining proofs of courage and ability: but the Spaniards were at length forced to abandon the undertaking. A ſecond attempt ſucceeded no better.

While theſe great things were doing in the Mediterranean, Sir George Byng was ſent with a ſmall ſquadron of cruiſers into the Soundings. He ſailed in the latter end of January, 1705, with a large and rich fleet of outward-bound merchant-ſhips. As ſoon as he had ſeen theſe ſafe into the ſea, he diſpoſed of his ſquadron in ſuch a manner, as he thought moſt proper for ſecuring our own trade, and for meeting with the French privateers. He was ſo fortunate as to take from the enemy a man of war of 44 guns, 12 privateers, and 7 merchant-ſhips, moſt of which were richly laden from the Weſt Indies. The number of men taken on board all theſe prizes was upward of 2,000, and of guns 334. This gave ſuch a blow to the French privateers, that they ſcarce ventured into the channel all the year after, but choſe rather to ſail northward, in hopes of meeting with ſome of our ſhips homeward-bound from the Baltic.

The firſt orders received by the grand fleet, commanded by the famous earl of Peterborough, and Sir Cloudeſley Shovel, as joint admirals; were, to

proceed

proceed for the Mediterranean, with the force then ready, which amounted to 29 ſail of line of battle ſhips, beſide frigates, fireſhips, bombs, and other ſmall craft. On the 11th of June they arrived in the river of Liſbon, where they found Sir John Leake, with a ſquadron, in great want of proviſions. On the 15th of June, a council of war was held, in which it was determined to put to ſea with 48 ſhips of the line, Engliſh and Dutch, and diſpoſe them in ſuch a ſtation between cape Spartell and the bay of Cadiz, as might beſt prevent the junction of the French ſquadrons from Toulon and Breſt.

On the 22d of June, Sir Cloudeſley Shovel, with the fleet, ſailed for Liſbon; from thence he ſailed to Altea-bay, and there took in his catholic majeſty, who preſſed the earl of Peterborough to make an immediate attempt on the city of Barcelona, and the province of Catalonia; where he was aſſured the people were well affected to him. This being agreed to, the fleet ſailed accordingly to Barcelona, and arrived on the 12th of Auguſt. The ſurrender of this capital of Catalonia ſo ſtrengthened king Charles's party, that the whole principality, Roſes only excepted, ſubmitted ſoon after.

All the world knows, that the reduction of Barcelona has been conſidered as one of the moſt extraordinary events that fell out in this, or, perhaps, in any modern war; and though we have already many accounts of it, which ſeem to attribute it, ſome to one thing, ſome to another; yet nothing but the aſſiſtance given by our fleet could poſſibly have reduced it.

In this year our ſucceſſes had been ſo great both by ſea and land, and there appeared ſo fair a proſpect of humbling the houſe of Bourbon in Flanders, and of driving them out of Spain, that when her majeſty thought fit to recommend the Spaniſh war in a particular manner to parliament, the houſe of commons immediately voted large ſupplies for the year 1706: ſo

ſo that the miniſtry had nothing to conſider, but how to employ them in ſuch a manner, as that thoſe, upon whom they were raiſed, might be ſatisfied that they were laid out for their ſervice; and this produced a reſolution of equipping a numerous fleet, as early as it was poſſible. This, with the ſettling the terms of the union, were the matters which principally took up the attention of this ſeſſion of parliament.

Had the iſſue of the campaign in Catalonia been ſuch as the beginning ſeemed to prognoſticate, the French king might have in ſome meaſure conſoled himſelf for his diſgraces in the Netherlands. On the 6th day of April, king Philip, at the head of a numerous army, undertook the ſiege of Barcelona, while the count de Thoulouſe blocked it up with a powerful ſquadron: but the arrival of an Engliſh fleet, under Sir John Leake, ſaved the city: the French ſquadron ſailed away for Toulon, and king Philip abandoned the ſiege. The Engliſh fleet continued all the ſummer in the Mediterranean: they ſecured Carthagena, which had declared for Charles: they took the town of Alicant by aſſault, and the caſtle by capitulation. Then ſailing out of the Streights, one ſquadron was detached to the Weſt Indies, another ordered to lie at Liſbon, and the reſt were ſent home to England. But affairs fell into ſuch diſtraction in the Weſt Indies, that we were not either in a condition to hurt the enemy's ſettlements, or ſo much as able to defend our own. The truth ſeems to be, that the great fleets we fitted out every year to the Mediterranean, and the cruiſers that were neceſſary upon our coaſts, took up ſo many ſhips, that it was ſcarcely poſſible to ſupply even the reaſonable demands of the Weſt Indies.

A ſcheme being formed to attempt Toulon, and Sir Cloudeſley Shovel having joined Sir George Byng near Alicant, the fleet came to an anchor before Final on the 5th of June, 1707, conſiſting of 43 men of war and 57 tranſports; where, in a council of war, at

at which prince Eugene aſſiſted, it was reſolved to force a paſſage near the van, in which the Engliſh admiral promiſed to aſſiſt. On the laſt day of June this enterpriſe was undertaken, to the great aſtoniſhment of the French, who believed their works upon that river to be impregnable. Sir John Norris, with ſome Britiſh, and one Dutch man of war, ſailed to the mouth of the river, and embarking 600 ſeamen and marines in open boats, entered it, and advanced within muſket-ſhot of the enemy's works, making ſuch a terrible fire upon them, that their cavalry and many of their foot began to quit their entrenchments, and could not be prevailed upon by their officers to return. Sir Cloudeſly Shovel, who followed Sir John, no ſooner ſaw this confuſion, than he ordered the latter to land with the ſeamen and marines in order to flank the enemy. This was performed with ſo much ſpirit, and Sir John and his ſeamen ſcampered ſo ſuddenly over the French works, that the enemy, ſtruck with a pannic, threw down their arms and fled with the utmoſt precipitation. The duke of Savoy immediately purſued this advantage, and in half an hour paſſed that river, which had, without this aſſiſtance, proved the ne plus ultra of his expedition; and marched toward Toulon, with an army of thirty-five thouſand men. The ſiege of this place was not formed before the 15th of July, when 100 cannon, with 200 rounds of powder and ſhot, and a conſiderable number of ſeamen to ſerve as gunners, with all other things wanting for the camp, were ſupplied from the ſhips: ſo that affairs had a very good aſpect till the 4th of Auguſt, when the enemy, making a vigorous ſally, forced the confederate troops out of the works, and drew eight or ten guns into the town. In this action were killed and wounded above 800 men: ſo that on the 6th, after embarking the ſick and wounded, and withdrawing the cannon, the ſiege from that time was turned only to a cannonading and bombardment.

The very day the army began to march, five bomb veſſels, ſupported by the lighteſt frigates and all the boats of the men of war, under the command of rear-admiral Dilkes, advanced into the creek of fort St. Lewis; and notwithſtanding a prodigious fire from the place, bombarded the town and harbour from noon till five next morning with all the ſucceſs which could be expected, the land army in the mean time quitting their camp at La Villette, which they did in five columns with great ſafety, the duke of Savoy marching back in two days as far as in his approach to the place he had done in ſix.

Sir Cloudeſly Shovel being not a little chagrined at the miſcarriage of an expedition on which he had ſet his heart, bent his courſe homeward. Coming into the Soundings on the 23d of October, he ſtruck upon the rocks called the Biſhop and his Clerks, and in two minutes nothing more of him or his ſhip was ſeen, and three or four more of his fleet alſo periſhed with him.

But at the time that our fleets were every where ſuperior to thoſe of the enemy, our trade ſuffered in almoſt all parts of the world by their ſmall ſquadrons of men of war, as well as privateers.

About this time the French played off a project, which they repeated more than once ſince. This was, the attempt upon Scotland, in favour of the chevalier de St. George; which was the Nomme de Guerre they were pleaſed to give the perſon, whom the queen ſoon after diſtinguiſhed by the name of the Pretender.

The troops intended for this attempt, were about eleven or twelve battalions, under the command of the marquis de Gace, afterward ſtiled the marſhal de Matignon. The fleet conſiſted of but eight men of war, which was commanded by the count de Forbin, who is ſaid to have diſliked the deſign, becauſe, very probably, he knew the bottom of it: for it is very certain, the French never intended to land, and refuſed the chevalier to ſet him on ſhore, though he would

would have gone with his own ſervants. The true ſcheme of the French king was, to create a diverſion to embarraſs the queen and her miniſtry at home, that they might have the leſs leiſure to proſecute their views abroad: and from theſe motives, he ordered his miniſters in all foreign courts, to talk in very magnificent terms, of the ſuccours he gave to the king of England, as he thought fit to call him; that on the rebound, they might make the louder noiſe in Britain. Our public ſecurities fell ſurpriſingly, and things would have fallen into downright confuſion, if the fright had not been quickly over. This was owing to the care of the admiralty, who, with remarkable diligence, fitted out a fleet of 24 men of war, with which, Sir George Byng, and lord Durſley, ſailed for the French coaſt, on the 27th of February, 1708. On Sir George Byng's anchoring before Gravelin, the French officers laid aſide their embarkation; but upon expreſs orders from court, were obliged to reſume it; and on the 6th of March, actually ſailed out of Dunkirk; but being taken ſhort by contrary winds, came to an anchor till the 8th, and then continued their voyage for Scotland.

Sir George Byng purſued them with a fleet of forty ſhips of the line, beſide frigates and fireſhips. He afterward detached rear-admiral Baker, with a ſmall ſquadron, to convoy the troops that were ſent from Oſtend, and proſecuted his expedition with the reſt.

He ſailed directly to the frith of Edinburgh, where he arrived almoſt as ſoon as the enemy, who immediately took the advantage of a land-breeze, and bore away with all the ſail they could carry. The Engliſh admiral gave chace; and the Saliſbury, one of their ſhips, was boarded and taken. At night monſieur de Fourbin altered his courſe; ſo that the next day they were out of reach of the Engliſh ſquadron. The pretender deſired they would proceed to the northward, and land him at Inverneſs, and Fourbin ſeemed willing to gratify this requeſt; but the wind changing

and blowing in their teeth with great violence, he repreſented the danger of attempting to proſecute the voyage; and, with the conſent of the chevalier de St. George and his general, returned to Dunkirk, after having been toſſed about a whole month in very tempeſtuous weather. In the mean time, Sir George Byng ſailed up to Leith road, where he received the freedom of the city of Edinburgh in a golden box, as a teſtimony of gratitude for his having delivered them from the dreadful apprehenſions under which they laboured.

Certain it is, the pretender could not have choſen a more favourable opportunity for making a deſcent upon Scotland. The people in general were diſaffected to the government on account of the union; the regular troops under Leven did not exceed 2500 men; and even great part of theſe would in all probability have joined the invader: the caſtle of Edinburgh was deſtitute of ammunition, and would in all appearance have ſurrendered at the firſt ſummons; in which caſe the Jacobites muſt have been maſters of the equivalent money lodged in that fortreſs; a good number of Dutch ſhips loaded with cannon, ſmall arms, ammunition, and a large ſum of money, had been driven on ſhore in the ſhire of Angus: where they would have been ſeized by the friends of the pretender, had the French troops been landed; and all the adherents of that houſe were ready to appear in arms.

The campaign in Catalonia, which we cannot enter into, was productive of a great event. Sir John Leake, having taken on board a handful of troops, under the conduct of the marquis D'Alconzel, ſet ſail for Cagliari, in Sardinia, and ſummoned the viceroy to ſubmit to King Charles. As he did not ſend an immediate anſwer, the admiral began to bombard the city, and the inhabitants compelled him to ſurrender at diſcretion. The greater part of the garriſon enliſted themſelves in the ſervice of Charles. Major-general

general Stanhope having planned the conqueſt of Minorca, and concerted with the admiral the meaſures neceſſary to put it in execution, obtained from count Staremberg a few battalions of Spaniards, Italians, and Portugueſe, embarked at Barcelona, with a fine train of Britiſh artillery, accompanied by brigadier Wade and colonel Petit, an engineer of great reputation. They landed on the iſland about two miles from St. Philip's fort, on the twenty-ſixth of Auguſt, with about eight hundred marines, which augmented their number to about three thouſand. Next day they erected batteries; and general Stanhope ordered a number of arrows to be ſhot into the place, to which papers were affixed, written in the Spaniſh and French languages, containing threats, that all the garriſon ſhould be ſent to the mines, if they would not ſurrender before the batteries were finiſhed. The garriſon conſiſted of a thouſand Spaniards, and ſix hundred French marines, commanded by colonel la Jonquiere, who imagined that the number of the beſiegers amounted to at leaſt ten thouſand; ſo artfully had they been drawn up in ſight of the enemy. The batteries began to play, and in a little time demoliſhed four towers that ſerved as outworks to the fort: then they made a breach in the outward wall, through which brigadier Wade, at the head of the grenadiers, ſtormed a redoubt, with ſuch extraordinary valour as ſtruck the beſieged with conſternation. On the ſecond or third day they thought proper to beat a parley, and capitulate, on condition, That they ſhould march out with the honours of war: That the Spaniards ſhould be tranſported to Murcia, and the French to Toulon. The Spaniſh governor was ſo mortified when he learned the real number of the beſiegers, that on his arrival at Murcia, he threw himſelf out of a window in deſpair, and was killed upon the ſpot. La Jonquiere was confined for life, and all the French officers incurred their maſter's diſpleaſure. Fort St. Philip being thus reduced, to the amazement

of all Europe; and the garriſon of Port Fornelles having ſurrendered themſelves priſoners to the admirals Leake and Whitaker, the inhabitants gladly ſubmitted to the Engliſh government.

During the courſe of this year the Engliſh merchants ſuſtained no conſiderable loſſes by ſea: the cruiſers were judiciouſly ſtationed, and the trade was regularly ſupplied with convoys. In the Weſt Indies Commodore Wager deſtroyed the admiral of the galleons, and took the rear-admiral on the coaſt of Carthagene. Had the officers of his ſquadron done their duty, the greateſt part of the fleet would have fallen into his hands. At his return to Jamaica two of his captains were tried by a court-martial, and diſmiſſed from the ſervice.

On the twenty-eighth day of October prince George of Denmark died of an aſthma and dropſy, with which he had been long afflicted. He was a prince of an amiable rather than a ſhining character, brave, good-natured, modeſt, and humane, but devoid of great talents and ambition. He had always lived in harmony with the queen, who, during the whole term of their union, and eſpecially in his laſt illneſs, approved herſelf a pattern of conjugal truth and tenderneſs. At his death the earl of Pembroke was created lord high admiral.

As this war was proſecuted chiefly on the continent, where the duke of Marlborough gained ſuch glorious, though unprofitable advantages, over the French; the events of that war rather furniſh materials for a general, than for a naval hiſtory. Our fleets indeed were reſpectable where-ever they were ſent, and proved of great benefit to King Charles in his conteſt for Spain: but to follow his fortunes would carry us into too wide a field; and the convoys appointed for every fleet of merchantmen, would prove but tedious details, would our limits allow the mention of them. Theſe therefore we paſs over, as well as the unſucceſsful attempt on Quebec, under Sir

Hovenden

Hovenden Walker: two wars of a much more intereſting nature call for our attention, we therefore paſs on to the peace of Utrecht, which was privately ſigned April 1ſt, 1713, at the houſe of doctor Robinſon, biſhop of Briſtol. In this treaty, though all was not obtained from France that might have been, after ſo long, and withal, ſucceſsful a war; yet much was got by it, and greater advantages would certainly have attended it, had it not been for the diſturbance given our miniſters at home, by the oppoſition to their meaſures.

Not to inſiſt on the adequate ſatisfaction, which was by this treaty ſtipulated for all our allies, it procured us, as a trading nation, far greater advantages. For Dunkirk having been put into our hands, we ſhall find what was to become of it from the ninth article of the treaty, by which it was ſtipulated as follows:—"The moſt Chriſtian king ſhall take care that all the fortifications of the city of Dunkirk be razed; that the harbour be filled up; and that the ſluices, or moles, which ſerve to cleanſe the harbour, be levelled; and that, at the ſaid king's own expence, within the ſpace of five months, after the conditions of peace are concluded and ſigned: that is to ſay, the fortifications toward the ſea, within the ſpace of two months; and thoſe toward the land, together with the ſaid banks, within three months; on this expreſs condition alſo, that the ſaid fortifications, harbour, moles, or ſluices, be never repaired again." This demolition was of vaſt importance, for lying but thirteen leagues from the South Foreland, any eaſterly wind which carries our ſhips down the channel, brings out thoſe at Dunkirk to intercept them: the very ſituation of the place, furniſhes the enemy with advantage; for the eaſt end of the channel, which is expoſed to Dunkirk, is but ſeven leagues broad, whence they may ſee our ſhips from ſide to ſide. So that by this demolition, ſix parts in nine of our trade from London, is freed from the hazards to which they were

expoſed in time of war, while Dunkirk was open. Beſide, this was a heavy blow to the naval power of France, and eſpecially their trade to the Weſt Indies; and their ſubmitting to this article, was not only a clear proof of our ſuperior force, but of the great diſtreſs they had then been plunged into. They endeavoured indeed to ſhift off, and afterward mitigate the execution of this article; but the queen inſiſting on its demolition, according to the letter, it was done as effectually as could be deſired.

To conclude; it may be obſerved, that, upon the cloſe of the war, the French found themſelves totally deprived of all pretenſions to the dominion of the ſea. Moſt of our conqueſts, indeed all of them that were of any uſe to us, were made by, or at leaſt chiefly by, our fleets. Sir George Rooke took Gibraltar, and Sir John Leake reduced Minorca; and it is alſo evident, that it was our fleet alone that ſupported king Charles in Catalonia, and kept the king of Portugal ſteady to the grand alliance; which, beſide the advantages it brought to the common cauſe, ſecured to us the invaluable profits of our trade to that country: and all this againſt the ſpirit, genius, and inclination of the king of Portugal, and his miniſters, who were all, at that time, in the French intereſt in their hearts.

At the ſame time, our fleets prevented the French from ſo much as ſailing on the Mediterranean, where they had made a figure in the laſt war; and kept many of the Italian ſtates in awe. The very Algerines, and other piratical ſtates of Barbary, contrary to their natural propenſity toward the French, were now obſequious to us, and entertained no manner of doubt of the ſuperiority of our flag. The ſlackneſs of the Dutch, in ſending ſhips to this part of the world, had, in this reſpect, an effect happy enough for us, ſince it occaſioned our being conſidered as the leading power, by all who had any concerns with us and them.

The

The treaty of Utrecht, which put an end to our diſputes abroad, proved the cauſe of high debates, and great diſtractions at home. The people grew uneaſy, the miniſtry divided, and the heats and violence of party roſe to ſuch a height, that her majeſty found herſelf ſo embarraſſed, as not to be able either to depend upon thoſe in power, or to venture to turn them out. The uneaſineſs of mind, that ſuch a perplexed ſituation of affairs occaſioned, had a very bad effect upon her health, which had been in a declining condition from the time of prince George's death; and a quarrel between two of her principal miniſters, in her preſence, proved, in ſome meaſure, the cauſe of her death, which happened Auguſt 1ſt, 1714.

ABSTRACT of the ROYAL NAVY, as it ſtood at the Death of QUEEN ANNE.

Rates.	Number.	Guns.	Men.
I.	7	714	5,312
II.	13	1,170	7,194
III.	39	2,890	16,089
IV.	66	3,490	16,058
V.	32	1,190	4,160
VI.	25	500	1,047
	182	9,954	49,860
Fire-ſhips, &c. about ——	50		

We now arrive at another change in our government, brought about by a ſtatute made in the twelfth year of king William III. for limiting the ſucceſſion of the crown; by which, after the death of the queen, then princeſs Anne, without iſſue, it was to paſs to the moſt illuſtrious houſe of Hanover, as the next proteſtant heirs: for the princeſs Sophia, electreſs dowager of Hanover, was daughter to the queen of Bohemia, who, before her marriage with the elector Palatine, was ſtiled the princeſs Elizabeth of Great Britain,

Britain, daughter to James VI. of Scotland, and I. of England; in whom united all the hereditary claims to the imperial crown of theſe realms.

But, the princeſs Sophia dying a very little while before the queen, George-Lewis, elector of Hanover, her ſon, became heir of this crown, on the demiſe of queen Anne, and was accordingly called to the ſucceſſion, in the manner directed by another ſtatute, paſſed in the fourth year of her majeſty's reign.

His majeſty arriving from Holland on the 18th of September, and making his public entry on the 20th, took the reins of government into his own hands. A new parliament was ſummoned, and met at Weſtminſter, March the 17th, 1715, and came to a reſolution, to allow ten thouſand ſeamen at four pounds a month; beſide other large ſums for other naval contingencies. Theſe were thought neceſſary, becauſe, at this juncture, the fleet of Great Britain was much decayed; and it was foreſeen, that, notwithſtanding the peace ſo lately concluded, new diſputes were likely to ariſe.

Amongſt theſe diſputes, the moſt ſerious was that in which we were engaged with Sweden. This had begun before the queen's death, and was occaſioned by the Swediſh privateers taking many of our ſhips, which, with their cargoes, were confiſcated; under a pretence that we aſſiſted and ſupplied the Czar and his ſubjects, with ſhips, arms, ammunition, &c. contrary, as was ſuggeſted, to our treaties with the crown of Sweden. Several memorials had been preſented upon this ſubject, without receiving any ſatisfactory anſwer; and, therefore, it was now thought expedient to ſend a ſtrong ſquadron of men of war into the Baltic; the rather, becauſe their high mightineſſes the ſtates-general, labouring under the ſame inconveniencies, found themſelves obliged, after all pacific methods had been tried in vain, to have recourſe to the ſame meaſures.

On

On the 18th of May a ſquadron of twenty ſail was appointed for this ſervice, under Sir John Norris, who arrived in the Sound on the 10th of June following: where, finding the Dutch ſquadron, it was reſolved, that the combined fleet ſhould proceed together, with the Engliſh and Dutch merchantmen under their convoy for their reſpective ports. About the middle of the month of Auguſt, the Daniſh fleet, conſiſting of twenty ſhips of the line, with the Ruſſian ſquadron, reſolved to ſail up the Baltic, with the Engliſh and Dutch.

On the arrival of Sir John Norris in the Baltic, our miniſter preſented a memorial, in which he ſet forth, the particular damages ſuſtained by our merchants; for which he demanded ſatisfaction; and, at the ſame time, inſiſted on the repeal of an edict, which his Swediſh majeſty had lately publiſhed, and by which the commerce of the Baltic was wholly prohibited to the Engliſh. This memorial was preſented, June 15, 1715, and in it, the nature of Sir John Norris's commiſſion was explained; but he received a very unſatisfactory anſwer. Thus far, all this quarrel ſeems to ariſe from his majeſty's care of the Britiſh commerce. But as elector of Hanover, he had alſo ſome diſputes with his majeſty of Sweden, of quite a different nature: for having purchaſed from the crown of Denmark the duchies of Bremen and Verden, which had been taken from the crown of Sweden, he found himſelf obliged, in quality of elector, to concur with the firſt-mentioned power, in declaring war againſt Sweden; and, even before this was done, ſome Engliſh ſhips joined the Daniſh fleet, in order to diſtreſs the Swedes. Of this, the Swediſh miniſter here complained, by a memorial, in which he aſſerted, that the honour of the Britiſh flag had been proſtituted to ſerve the intereſts of another ſtate, and in order to create an intercourſe between the king's regal and electoral dominions. The Dutch, though no leſs injured, no

leſs

leſs concerned in their trade than we, did not, however, think it neceſſary to come to ſuch extremities.

The Swedes had, at this time, a very numerous fleet, and in good condition; but they were too wiſe to hazard it againſt ſuch an unequal force as that of the confederates; and, therefore, withdrew it into one of their own ports, till they could receive the king's abſolute orders. On the 9th of November, the Britiſh men of war, from Dantzick, with the trade, joined Sir John Norris's ſquadron at Bornholm, and the next day came all with him into the road of Copenhagen. On the 12th, arrived the Dutch trade, with their convoy, which had been obliged to ſtay after ours at Dantzick, for proviſions. A few days after, Sir John ſailed from the road of Copenhagen; and, notwithſtanding his fleet, as well as the merchantmen under his convoy, were ſurprized by a violent ſtorm, which diſperſed them, and in which the Auguſt, of ſixty guns, and the Garland of twenty-four, were unfortunately loſt; yet the reſt, with all the trade, ſafely arrived at the Trow, on the 29th of November, in the morning. Sir John Norris left ſeven ſhips of war under the command of commodore Cleeland, in the Baltic, to act in conjunction with the Danes, and for the further ſecurity of the Britiſh trade, if neceſſary.

During the time that this ſquadron was employed in the Baltic, the rebellion was extinguiſhed in Scotland; but with ſo little aſſiſtance from our naval force, that it ſcarce deſerves to be mentioned. The rebellion broke out under the influence and direction of the earl of Mar, who was ſoon joined by the clans; and the Duke of Argyll being ſent down againſt him, it quickly appeared how ill their meaſures had been taken. His grace had, indeed, but a ſmall number of regular troops under his command; but his intereſt was ſo extenſive, that he not only engaged many powerful families to declare for king George, but, which

perhaps

perhaps was the greater ſervice of the two, engaged many more to remain quiet, who otherwiſe had joined the rebels. The buſineſs was decided by the battle of Sheriff Moore, near Dunblain, fought November 13, 1715, the ſame day that general Foſter and the Engliſh, who were in arms, ſurrendered at Preſton. Yet, after this, the Chevalier de St. George ventured over into Scotland, in a very poor veſſel; where, ſoon finding his affairs deſperate, and his perſon in the utmoſt danger, he contrived to make his eſcape from the north, with the utmoſt ſecrecy; which he effected, by going on board a clean tallow'd French ſnow, which ſailed out of the harbour of Montroſe, February the 3d, in ſight of ſome Engliſh men of war, but kept ſo cloſe along ſhore, that they ſoon found it was impoſſible to follow her.

We have already taken notice of what paſt under Sir John Norris in the Baltic; and have, therefore, only to obſerve, that this year ſome of the piratical republics in Barbary having broke the peace, admiral Baker, who had the command of the Engliſh ſquadron in the Mediterranean, received orders to bring them to reaſon; which he did, without any great difficulty.

In 1718, the king of England had uſed ſome endeavours to compromiſe the difference between his imperial majeſty and the Spaniſh branch of the houſe of Bourbon. Mr. Stanhope had been ſent to Madrid with a plan of pacification, which being rejected by Philip, as partial and iniquitous, the king determined to ſupport his mediation by arms. Sir George Byng ſailed from Spithead on the 4th day of June, with twenty ſhips of the line, two fire-ſhips, two bomb-veſſels, and ample inſtructions how to act on all emergencies. He arrived off Cape St. Vincent on the 30th day of the month, when he diſpatched his ſecretary to Cadiz with a letter to Colonel Stanhope the Britiſh miniſter at Madrid, deſiring him to inform his moſt catholic majeſty of the admiral's arrival in thoſe

parts, and to lay before him his inſtructions: which, when cardinal Alberoni peruſed, he told colonel Stanhope with ſome warmth, that his maſter would run all hazards, and even ſuffer himſelf to be driven out of Spain, rather than recal his troops, or conſent to a ſuſpenſion of arms. He ſaid the Spaniards were not to be frightened; and he was ſo well convinced that the fleet would do their duty, that in caſe of their being attacked by admiral Byng, he ſhould be in no pain for the ſucceſs. This interpoſition could not but be very provoking to the Spaniſh miniſter, who had laid his account with the conqueſt of Sicily; and for that purpoſe prepared an armament which was altogether ſurpriſing, conſidering the late ſhattered condition of the Spaniſh affairs. He ſeems to have put too much confidence in the ſtrength of the Spaniſh fleet. In a few days he ſent back the admiral's letter to Mr. Stanhope, with a note under it, importing, that the chevalier Byng might execute the orders he had received from the king his maſter.

The admiral, in paſſing by Gibraltar, was joined by vice-admiral Cornwal with two ſhips. He proceeded to Minorca, where he relieved the garriſon of Portmahon. Then he ſailed for Naples, where he arrived on the firſt day of Auguſt, and was received as a deliverer: for the Neapolitans had been under the utmoſt terror of an invaſion from the Spaniards. Sir George Byng received intelligence from the viceroy count Daun, who treated him with the moſt diſtinguiſhing marks of reſpect, that the Spaniſh army, amounting to thirty thouſand men, commanded by the marquis de Lede, had landed in Sicily, reduced Palermo and Meſſina, and were then employed in the ſiege of the citadel belonging to this laſt city: that the Piedmonteſe garriſon would be obliged to ſurrender, if not ſpeedily relieved: that an alliance was upon the carpet between the emperor and the king of Sicily, which laſt had deſired the aſſiſtance of the imperial troops, and agreed to receive them into the citadel

tadel of Meſſina. The admiral immediately reſolved to ſail thither, and on the 9th of Auguſt was in ſight of the Faro of Meſſina. He diſpatched his own captain with a polite meſſage to the marquis de Lede, propoſing a ceſſation of arms in Sicily for two months, that the powers of Europe might have time to concert meaſures for reſtoring a laſting peace. The Spaniſh general anſwered, that he had no powers to treat, conſequently ſhould obey his orders, which directed him to reduce Sicily for his maſter the king of Spain. The Spaniſh fleet had ſailed from the harbour of Meſſina on the day before the Engliſh ſquadron appeared. In doubling the point of Faro, he deſcried two Spaniſh ſcouts, that led him to their main fleet, which before noon he deſcried in line of battle, amounting to 27 ſail large and ſmall, beſide two fire-ſhips, four bomb-veſſels, and ſeven gallies. At ſight of the Engliſh ſquadron they ſtood away large, and Byng gave chace all the reſt of the day. In the morning, which was the 11th of Auguſt, the rear-admiral de Mari, with ſix ſhips of war, the gallies, fire-ſhips, and bomb-ketches, ſeparated from the main fleet, and ſtood in for the Sicilian ſhore. The Engliſh admiral detached captain Walton with five ſhips in purſuit of them; and they were ſoon engaged. He himſelf continued to chace their main fleet; and about ten o'clock the battle began. The Spaniards ſeemed to be diſtracted in their counſels, and acted in confuſion. They made a running fight; and the admirals behaved with courage and activity, in ſpite of which they were all taken but Cammock, who made his eſcape with three ſhips of war and three frigates. In this engagement, which happened off Cape Paſſaro, captain Haddock of the Grafton ſignalized his courage in an extraordinary manner. On the 18th the admiral received a letter from captain Walton, dated off Syracuſe, intimating that he had taken four Spaniſh ſhips of war, together with a bomb-ketch, and a veſſel laden with arms; and that he had burned

ed four ſhips of the line, a fire-ſhip, and a bomb-veſſel. This letter is juſtly deemed a curious ſpecimen of the laconic ſtyle.—"Sir, We have taken and deſtroyed all the Spaniſh ſhips and veſſels which were upon the coaſt, the number as per margin I am, &c.

G. Walton."

Theſe ſhips that captain Walton thus thruſt into his margin, would have furniſhed matter for ſome pages, in a French relation.

Admiral Byng continued to aſſiſt the imperialiſts in Sicily, during the beſt part of the winter, by ſcouring the ſeas of the Spaniards, and keeping the communication open between the German forces and the Calabrian ſhore, from whence they were ſupplied with proviſions. He acted in this ſervice with equal conduct, reſolution, and activity. He conferred with the viceroy of Naples, and the other imperial generals, about the operations of the enſuing campaign; and count Hamilton was diſpatched to Vienna, to lay before the emperor the reſult of their deliberations: then the admiral ſet ſail for Mahon, where his ſhips might be refitted, and put in a condition to take the ſea in the ſpring.

The deſtruction of the Spaniſh fleet was a ſubject that employed the deliberations and conjectures of all the politicians in Europe. Spain exclaimed againſt the conduct of England, as inconſiſtent with the rules of good faith, for the obſervation of which ſhe had always been ſo famous. This was the language of diſappointed ambition. Nevertheleſs, it muſt be owned, that the conduct of England on this occaſion was rather irregular; and the Spaniards were not ſlow in expreſſing their reſentments. On the 1ſt of September, rear-admiral Guevara, with ſome ſhips under his command, entered the port of Cadiz, and made himſelf maſter of all the Engliſh ſhips that were there; and, at the ſame time, all the effects of the Engliſh merchants were ſeized in Malaga, and other ports of Spain; which, as ſoon as it was known here, produced

duced repriſals on our part. But it is now time to leave the Mediterranean, and the affairs of Spain, in order to give an account of what paſſed in the northern ſeas.

There remains only one tranſaction more of this year, which a work of this kind requires to be mentioned; which is the account of the reduction of the pirates. Captain Woodes Rogers, having been appointed governor of the Bahama iſlands, ſailed for Providence, which was to be the ſeat of his government, on the 11th of April; and after a ſhort and eaſy paſſage, arriving there, he took poſſeſſion of the town of Naſſau, the fort belonging to it, and of the whole iſland; the people receiving him with all imaginable joy, and many of the pirates ſubmitting immediately. Some of them, it is true, rejected, at firſt, all terms, and did a great deal of miſchief on the coaſt of Carolina; but, when they ſaw that governor Rogers had thoroughly ſettled himſelf at Providence, and that the inhabitants of the Bahama iſlands found themſelves obliged, through intereſt, to be honeſt, they began to doubt of their ſituation, and thought proper to go and beg that mercy which at firſt they refuſed; ſo that there were not above three or four veſſels of thoſe pirates who continued their trade, and two of them being taken, and their crews executed, the reſt diſperſed out of fear, and became thereby leſs terrible. Thus, in a ſhort time, and chiefly through the ſteady and prudent conduct of governor Rogers, this herd of villains were in ſome meaſure diſperſed, who for many years had frighted the Weſt Indies, and the northern colonies.

On the 17th of December 1718, a declaration of war in form was publiſhed againſt the crown of Spain; as to the expediency of which, many bold things were ſaid in the houſe of commons, eſpecially with regard to the pretenſions, and the intentions of thoſe who made this war. The miniſtry, however, continued the purſuit of their own ſcheme, in ſpite of op-

poſition, and took ſuch vigorous meaſures for obliging Spain to accept the terms aſſigned her by the quadruple alliance, that ſhe loſt all patience, and reſolved to attempt any thing that might either free her from this neceſſity, or ſerve to expreſs her reſentments againſt ſuch as endeavoured to impoſe it upon her: with this view ſhe drew together a great number of tranſports at Cadiz and Corunna; but the Spaniſh fleet, deſigned for this expedition, conſiſting of five men of war, and about forty tranſports, having on board the late duke of Ormonde, and upward of 5000 men, met with a violent ſtorm, which entirely diſperſed them. Thus, this deſign of the Spaniards, whatever it was, became abortive.

It may be proper, in this place, to take notice, that we acted now in ſuch cloſe conjunction with France, that the regent declared war againſt his couſin the king of Spain; and though many people here ſuſpected that this war would produce no great effects, it proved quite otherwiſe; for the marquis de Silly advanced in the month of April as far as Port Paſſage, where he found ſix men of war juſt finiſhed, upon the ſtocks, all which, prompted thereto by colonel Stanhope, (afterward earl of Harrington) he burned, together with timber, maſts, and naval ſtores, to the value of half a million ſterling; which was a greater real loſs to the Spaniards, than that they ſuſtained by our beating their fleet. Soon after, the duke of Berwick beſieged Fontarabia; both which actions ſhewed, that the French were actually in earneſt.

While the Spaniards were pleaſing themſelves with chimerical notions of invaſions it was impoſſible to effect againſt us, our admiral in the Mediterranean was diſtreſſing them effectually; he continued there until he had ſeen the iſlands of Sicily and Sardinia evacuated by the Spaniards, and the mutual ceſſions executed between the emperor and the duke of Savoy. In a word, admiral Byng bore ſuch a conſiderable

derable ſhare in this war of Sicily, that the fate of the iſland depended wholly upon his courage, vigilance, and conduct.

The king of England, with a view to indemnify himſelf for the expence of the war, projected the conqueſt of Corunna in Biſcay, and of Peru in South America. Four thouſand men, commanded by lord Cobham, were embarked at the Iſle of Wight, and ſailed on the 21ſt day of September, under convoy of five ſhips of war, conducted by admiral Mighels. Inſtead of making an attempt upon Corunna, they reduced Vigo with very little difficulty. The expedition to the Weſt Indies was prevented by the peace. Spain being oppreſſed on all ſides, and utterly exhauſted, Philip ſaw the neceſſity of a ſpeedy pacification. He was obliged at laſt to accede to the quadruple alliance.

The pirates in the Weſt Indies, who had received ſome check from the vigorous diſpoſitions of governor Rogers, and other commanders in thoſe parts, began to take breath again, and by degrees grew ſo bold as even to annoy our colonies more than ever; owing to the encouragement they had met with of late from the Spaniards, and to the want of a ſufficient force in the North American ſeas. There was among theſe pirates one Roberts, a man whoſe parts deſerved a better employment; he was an able ſeaman, and a good commander, and had with him two very ſtout ſhips, to which he ſoon added a third. With this force, Roberts had done a great deal of miſchief in the Weſt Indies, before he ſailed for Africa, where he likewiſe took abundance of prizes, till in the month of April 1722, he was taken by the then captain, afterward Sir Chaloner Ogle.

Captain Ogle was then in the Swallow, and was cruiſing off Cape Lopez, when he had intelligence of Roberts's being not far from him, and in conſequence of this he went immediately in ſearch of him, and ſoon after diſcovered the pirates in a very convenient

bay, where the biggeſt and the leaſt ſhip were upon the heel, ſcrubbing. Captain Ogle taking in his lower tier of guns, and lying at a diſtance, Roberts took him for a merchantman, and immediately ordered his conſort to ſlip his cable, and run out after him. Captain Ogle crouded all the ſail he could to decoy the pirate to ſuch a diſtance, that his conſorts might not hear the guns, and then ſuddenly tacked, run out his lower tier, and gave the pirate a broadſide, by which their captain was killed: this ſo diſcouraged the crew, that after a briſk engagement, which laſted about an hour and a half, they ſurrendered. Captain Ogle returned then to the bay, hoiſting the king's colours, under the pirates black flag with a death's head in it. This prudent ſtratagem had the deſired effect; for the pirates, ſeeing the black flag uppermoſt, concluded the king's ſhip had been taken, and came out full of joy to congratulate their conſort on the victory. This joy of theirs was, however, of no long continuance, for captain Ogle gave them a very warm reception; and though Roberts fought with the utmoſt bravery, for near two hours, yet being at laſt killed, the courage of his men immediately ſunk, and both ſhips yielded.

Peace affords no events of importance for naval hiſtory; we therefore paſs on to the death of king George I. which happened at his brother's palace, in the city of Oſnaburg, June the 11th, 1727, in the thirteenth year of his reign, and in the ſixty-eighth of his life. He was very well acquainted with the general intereſt of all the princes in Europe, and particularly well verſed in whatever related to German affairs. He was allowed by the beſt judges of military ſkill, to be an excellent officer; was very capable of application, and underſtood buſineſs as well as any prince of his time.

A LIST

A LIST of the ENGLISH NAVY, as it ſtood at the Acceſſion of GEORGE II.

Rates.	N° of Ships.	Men.	Guns.	Swivels.
I.	7	5,460	700	
II.	13	8,840	1,170	
III.	16	8,320	1,280	
	24	10,568	1,680	
IV.	24	37,600	1,440	
	40	17,200	2,000	
V.	24	4,800	960	
	1	155	30	
VI.	1	140	22	
	28	3,580	560	
Fire-ſhips	3	155	24	
Bombs	3	120	16	16
Store-ſhip	1	90	20	
Sloops	15	990	78	78
Yachts	7	260	64	
Ditto, ſmall	5	29	26	6
Hoys	11	87	12	2
Smacks	2	4		
Total	225	98,398	10,082	

After the acceſſion of king George II. notwithſtanding the ſeeming pacific diſpoſition of the court of Spain in Europe, and their engagements lately entered into, there was great reaſon to ſuſpect, that their governors in the Weſt Indies had ſecret inſtructions to carry on a depredatory war: for no ſooner were our men of war called off from action in thoſe ſeas, than our merchants ſeverely felt the effects of a perfidious treaty; and every ſhip from our colonies and iſlands, brought freſh ſubject of complaint, concerning their depredations on our trade, and their cruelties to our ſailors. Alſo in Europe, from the leſſening of our naval force in the Mediterranean, the Sallee rovers were encouraged to infeſt our navigation in the

Streights and Weſtern ocean. Upon all this the parliament, which met on the 22d of January, agreed to employ 15,000 ſeamen, at four pounds a man per month, for thirteen months, for the current year; and alſo voted 206,025 pounds, for the ordinary of the navy during the ſame time.

The houſe of commons having examined the accounts of the Spaniſh depredations, came to the following reſolution; That ever ſince the peace of Utrecht, concluded in 1713, to this time, the Britiſh trade and navigation to and from the ſeveral colonies in America, had been greatly interrupted by the continual depredations of the Spaniards; in manifeſt violation of the treaties ſubſiſting between the two crowns. In conſequence of which reſolution, it was further unanimouſly reſolved, that an humble addreſs be preſented to his majeſty, to deſire he would be graciouſly pleaſed to uſe his utmoſt endeavours to prevent ſuch depredations, to procure juſt and reaſonable ſatisfaction for the loſſes ſuſtained; and to ſecure to his ſubjects the free exerciſe of commerce and navigation, to and from the Britiſh colonies in America. The conſequence was, an order for putting 27 ſhips in commiſſion; which joined to a Dutch ſquadron, were intended to act in conjunction under Sir Charles Wager.

This confederate fleet of the Engliſh and Dutch at Spithead, raiſed expectations in the public, who now imagined that ſome bold ſtroke was intended in favour of our merchants. But after ſpending above three months in a pompous parade, the Dutch ſailed homeward; and twelve of our largeſt ſhips were ordered to be laid up. This fleet, however, it is generally thought, accelerated the ſigning of the convention, and alſo the diſpatching thoſe orders which were carried to Cuba, by the new governor of that iſland; by virtue of which, he impriſoned his predeceſſor, and even laid him in irons; at the ſame time declaring, that his inſtructions were to live in amity with the Engliſh. But all this, as appeared by the

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conſequences, proved no more than grimace; for the guarda coſtas continued their former depredations.

After the concluſion of the peace with Spain, Great Britain was drawn into an agreement, to carry Don Carlos, infant of Spain, and with the conſent of the court of Vienna, to place him on the throne of Naples: notwithſtanding which, every ſhip from the W. Indies brought an account of a continued ſeries of Spaniſh depredations and cruelties; a ſhocking inſtance of the latter, not to mention others, was the inhuman treatment of Robert Jenkins, maſter of the Rebecca, whoſe ear they cut off, and, at the ſame time, delivered it into his hands, inſolently telling him to carry that preſent home to his maſter. Notwithſtanding the pacific diſpoſition of the Britiſh miniſtry at that time, the popular clamours roſe very high on theſe and other acts of violence committed by the Spaniards; which year after year grew ſo violent, that the Britiſh miniſtry was no longer able to ſtem the current of national reſentment ſhewn by the daily petitions brought up from all parts of the kingdom, calling aloud for ſatisfaction from Spain. His majeſty iſſued a proclamation on the 10th of July, 1739, ſetting forth the Spaniſh depredations, the expiration of the term limited for the payment of 95,000 pounds compenſation, and on the non-payment of it, thereby authorizing general repriſals and letters of marque againſt the ſhips, goods, and ſubjects of the king of Spain.

Theſe orders, under his majeſty's ſign manual, dated June the 15th, had been diſpatched above a month before their publication in London, to commodore Brown, who then commanded a ſquadron at Jamaica; in order to have an opportunity of making the beſt uſe of them, before the Spaniards had notice of our deſigns, and conſequently prepared againſt them. The commodore publiſhed theſe orders on the 8th of Auguſt. In the mean time the Britiſh miniſtry now foreſeeing that a war with Spain could no longer be avoided, the firſt thing they did, was to form a

reſolution of endeavouring to preclude the Spaniards from the reſources of their wealth in the Weſt Indies and the South Seas.

With this view two ſquadrons were immediately ordered to be got ready with all expedition, the one to be put under the command of George Anſon, Eſq; who was then captain of his majeſty's ſhip the Centurion, and the other under that of captain Cornwall. The particulars of Anſon's voyage to the South Seas, are to be found in the third volume of this collection.

Notwithſtanding theſe preparations of war, Mr. Keene, the Britiſh miniſter at Madrid, declared to the court of Spain, that his maſter, although he had permitted his ſubjects to make repriſals, would not be underſtood to have broken the peace; and, that this permiſſion would be recalled as ſoon as his catholic majeſty ſhould be diſpoſed to make the ſatisfaction which had been ſo juſtly demanded. He was given to underſtand, that the king of Spain looked upon thoſe repriſals as acts of hoſtility; and that he hoped, with the aſſiſtance of heaven and his allies, he ſhould be able to ſupport a good cauſe againſt his adverſaries. He publiſhed a manifeſto in juſtification of his own conduct. The French ambaſſador at the Hague declared, that the king his maſter was obliged by treaties to aſſiſt his catholic majeſty by ſea and land, in caſe he ſhould be attacked: he diſſuaded the ſtates-general from eſpouſing the quarrel of Great Britain; and they aſſured him they would obſerve a ſtrict neutrality, though they could not avoid furniſhing his Britannic majeſty with ſuch ſuccours as he could demand, by virtue of the treaties ſubſiſting between the two powers. The people of England were inſpired with uncommon alacrity at the near proſpect of war, for which they had ſo long clamoured; and the miniſtry ſeeing it unavoidable, began to be earneſt and effectual in their preparations.

The great view of the nation now being to diſtreſs the Spaniards, another ſquadron was ordered to be

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fitted out for the Weſt Indies, and the command of it given to Edward Vernon, Eſq; then juſt made vice admiral of the blue, who, on account of the eminent ſervices he had formerly done his king and country in that part of the world, was looked on by all as the moſt proper perſon to be intruſted with ſo important an enterprize. He had withdrawn from employment, and on ſeveral accounts, had been diſguſted at the conduct of the miniſtry; yet upon the firſt application made to him to undertake the command of a ſquadron for the ſervice of his country, he immediately laid aſide all private animoſity, and ſacrificing all other conſiderations to the welfare of the public, very chearfully obeyed the ſummons, deſiring only a few days to ſettle his family affairs. He was counted a good officer, and his boiſterous manner ſeemed to enhance his character. As he had once commanded a ſquadron in Jamaica, he was perfectly well acquainted with thoſe ſeas; and in a debate upon the Spaniſh depredations, he chanced to affirm, that Porto Bello on the Spaniſh main might be eaſily taken: nay, he even undertook to reduce it with ſix ſhips only. This offer was echoed from the mouths of all the members in the oppoſition. Vernon was extolled as another Drake or Raleigh: he became the idol of a party, and his praiſe reſounded from all corners of the kingdom. The miniſter, in order to appeaſe the clamours of the people on this ſubject, ſent him as commander in chief to the Weſt Indies. He was pleaſed with an opportunity to remove ſuch a troubleſome cenſurer from the houſe of commons; and perhaps, he was not without hope, that Vernon would diſgrace himſelf and his party, by failing in the exploit he had undertaken. His catholic majeſty having ordered all the Britiſh ſhips in his harbours to be ſeized and detained, the king of England would keep meaſures with him no longer, but denounced war againſt him on the 23d day of October, 1739. Many Engliſh merchants began to equip privateers,

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and arm their trading veſſels, to protect their own commerce as well as to diſtreſs that of the enemy.

On the 13th of March, 1740, a ſhip arrived from the Weſt Indies, diſpatched by admiral Vernon, with an account of his having taken Porto Bello, on the iſthmus of Darien, and demoliſhed all the fortifications of the place. The Spaniards acted with ſuch puſillanimity on this occaſion, that their forts were taken almoſt without bloodſhed. And though the admiral was not able to puſh his conqueſts further up the country, yet the national advantage ariſing from what he had already done was very conſiderable: particularly as the traders of Jamaica had now a fair opportunity of opening an extenſive commerce with the Spaniards, who were fond of clandeſtinely conveying their money from Panama over the iſthmus.

Sir Chaloner Ogle arrived at Jamaica on the 9th day of Jan. 1741; and admiral Vernon did not ſail on his intended expedition to Carthagena, till toward the end of the month. He reſolved to beat up againſt the wind to Hiſpaniola, in order to obſerve the motion of the French ſquadron, commanded by the marquis d' Antin: but the French admiral had ſailed for Europe in great diſtreſs, for want of men and proviſions, which he could not procure in the Weſt Indies. Admiral Vernon, thus diſappointed, ſet ſail for the continent of New Spain, and on the 4th of March anchored in Playa Grande, to the windward of Carthagena. There they lay inactive till the 9th, when the troops were landed on the iſland of Tierra Bomba, near the mouth of the harbour, known by the name of Boca-chica, or Little-mouth, which was ſurpriſingly fortified with caſtles, batteries, bombs, chains, cables, and ſhips of war. The Britiſh forces erected a battery on ſhore, with which they made a breach in the principal fort, while the admiral ſent in a number of ſhips to divide the fire of the enemy, and cooperate with the endeavours of the army. Lord Aubrey Beauclerc, a gallant officer, who commanded

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one of these ships, was slain on this occasion. The breach being deemed practicable, the forces advanced to the attack: but the forts and batteries were abandoned; the Spanish ships that lay athwart the harbour's mouth were destroyed or taken; the passage was opened, and the fleet entered without further opposition. Then the forces were reimbarked with the artillery, and landed within a mile of Carthagena, where they were opposed by about 700 Spaniards, whom they obliged to retire. The admiral and general had contracted a hearty contempt for each other, and took all opportunities of expressing their mutual dislike: far from acting vigorously in concert, each appeared more eager for the disgrace of his rival, than zealous for the honour of the nation: and this contributed in great measure to the ruin of the enterprize.

The forces mistook their rout, and advanced to the strongest part of the fortification, where they were moreover exposed to the fire of the town. Their number was so much reduced, that they could no longer maintain their footing on shore; beside, the rainy season had begun with such violence, as rendered it impossible for them to live in camp. They were therefore reimbarked; and all hope of further success immediately vanished.

The miscarriage of this expedition, which had cost the nation an immense sum of money, was no sooner known in England, than the kingdom was filled with murmurs and discontent; and the people were depressed, in proportion to that sanguine hope by which they had been elevated. Admiral Vernon, instead of undertaking any enterprize which might have retrieved the honour of the British arms, set sail from Jamaica with the forces in July, and anchored at the south-east part of Cuba, in a bay, on which he bestowed the appellation of Cumberland harbour. The troops were landed, and encamped at the distance of twenty miles farther up the river, where

where they remained totally inactive, and ſubſiſted chiefly on ſalt and damaged proviſions, till the month of November; when, being conſiderably diminiſhed by ſickneſs, they were put on board again, and reconveyed to Jamaica. He was afterward reinforced from England by four ſhips of war, and about 3000 ſoldiers; but he performed nothing worthy of the reputation he had acquired.

While admiral Haddock, with twelve ſhips of the line, lay at anchor in the bay of Gibraltar, the Spaniſh fleet paſſed the Streights in the night, and was joined by the French ſquadron from Toulon. The Britiſh admiral ſailing from Gibraltar, fell in with them in a few days, and found both ſquadrons drawn up in line of battle. As he bore down upon the Spaniſh fleet, the French admiral ſent a flag of truce to inform him, that as the French and Spaniards were engaged in a joint expedition, he ſhould be obliged to act in concert with his maſter's allies. This interpoſition prevented an engagement, the combined fleets amounting to double the number of the Engliſh ſquadron. Admiral Haddock was obliged to deſiſt; and proceeded to Portmahon, leaving the enemy to proſecute their voyage without moleſtation. The people of England were incenſed at this tranſaction, and did not ſcruple to affirm, that the hands of the Britiſh admiral were tied up by the neutrality of Hanover.

The court of Madrid ſeemed to have ſhaken off that indolence and phlegm which had formerly diſgraced the councils of Spain. They no ſooner learned the deſtination of commodore Anſon, who had ſailed from Spithead in the courſe of the preceding year, than they ſent Don Pizarro, with a more powerful ſquadron upon the ſame voyage to defeat his deſign. Their privateers were ſo induſtrious and ſucceſsful, that in the beginning of this year, they had taken, ſince the commencement of the war, 407 ſhips, belonging to the ſubjects of Great Britain, and valued

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at near four millions of piaſters. The traders had therefore too much cauſe to complain, conſidering the formidable fleets which were maintained for the protection of commerce. In the courſe of the ſummer, Sir John Norris had twice ſailed toward the coaſt of Spain, at the head of a powerful ſquadron, without taking any effectual ſtep for annoying the enemy; as if the ſole intention of the miniſtry had been to expoſe the nation to the ridicule and contempt of its enemies. The inactivity of the Britiſh arms appears the more inexcuſable, when we conſider the great armaments which had been prepared. The land-forces of Great Britain, excluſive of Daniſh and Heſſian auxiliaries, amounted to 60,000 men; and the fleet conſiſted of above 100 ſhips of war, manned by 54,000 ſailors.

The new miniſtry in England (1742) had ſent out admiral Matthews to aſſume the command of this ſquadron, which had been for ſome time conducted by Leſtock, an inferior officer, as Haddock had been obliged to reſign his commiſſion on account of his ill ſtate of health. Matthews was likewiſe inveſted with the character of miniſter plenipotentiary to the king of Sardinia and the ſtates of Italy. Immediately after he had taken poſſeſſion of his command, he ordered captain Norris to deſtroy five Spaniſh gallies which had put into the bay of St. Tropez; and this ſervice was effectually performed. In May he detached commodore Rowley with eight ſail, to cruiſe off the harbour of Toulon; and a great number of merchant-ſhips belonging to the enemy fell into his hands. In Auguſt he ſent commodore Martin with another ſquadron into the bay of Naples, to bombard that city, unleſs his Sicilian majeſty would immediately recal his troops which had joined the Spaniſh army, and promiſe to remain neuter during the continuance of the war. Naples was immediately filled with conſternation: the king ſubſcribed to theſe conditions; and the Engliſh ſquadron rejoined the admiral in the road

of Hieres, which he had choſen for his winter-ſtation. But before this period he had landed ſome men at St. Remo, in the territories of Genoa, and deſtroyed the magazines that were erected for the uſe of the Spaniſh army. He had likewiſe ordered two of his cruiſers to attack a Spaniſh ſhip of the line, which lay at anchor in the port of Ajaccio, in the iſland of Corſica; but, the Spaniſh captain ſet his men on ſhore, and blew up his ſhip, rather than ſhe ſhould fall into the hands of the Engliſh.

In the courſe of this year admiral Vernon and general Wentworth made another effort in the Weſt Indies. They had received, in January, a reinforcement from England, and planned a new expedition. Their deſign was to diſembark the troops at Porto-Bello, and march acroſs the iſthmus of Darien, to attack the rich town of Panama. They ſailed from Jamaica on the 9th day of March, and on the 28th arrived at Porto-Bello. There they held a council of war, in which it was reſolved, that as the troops were ſickly, the rainy ſeaſon begun, and ſeveral tranſports not yet arrived, the intended expedition was become impracticable. In purſuance of this determination, the armament immediately returned to Jamaica, exhibiting a ridiculous ſpectacle of folly and irreſolution. Vernon and Wentworth received orders to return to England, with ſuch troops as remained alive; and theſe did not amount to a tenth part of the number which had been ſent abroad in that inglorious ſervice.

In England the merchants ſtill complained, that their commerce was not properly protected; and the people clamoured againſt the conduct of the war. They ſaid, their burdens were increaſed to maintain quarrels with which they had no concern; to defray the enormous expence of inactive fleets and pacific armies. The lord C. had now inſinuated himſelf into the confidence of his ſovereign, and engroſſed the whole direction of public affairs. The war with Spain was now become a ſecondary conſideration, and neglected accordingly; while

while the chief attention of the new miniſter was turned upon the affairs of the continent.

The Britiſh fleet commanded by admiral Matthews overawed all the ſtates that bordered on the Mediterranean. About the end of June, 1743, underſtanding that 14 xebecks, loaded with artillery and ammunition for the Spaniſh army, had arrived at Genoa, he ſailed thither from the road of Hieres, and demanded of the republic, that they would either oblige theſe veſſels with the ſtores to quit their harbour, or ſequeſter their ladings until a general peace ſhould be eſtabliſhed. After ſome diſpute, it was agreed, that the cannon and ſtores ſhould be depoſited in the caſtle of Bonifacio, ſituated on a rock at the ſouth end of Corſica: and, that the xebecks ſhould have leave to retire without moleſtation. Admiral Matthews, though he did not undertake any expedition of importance againſt the maritime towns of Spain, continued to aſſert the Britiſh empire at ſea through the whole extent of the Mediterranean. The Spaniſh army under Don Philip was no ſooner in motion, than the Engliſh admiral ordered ſome troops and cannon to be diſembarked for the ſecurity of Villa-Franca; ſtores having been landed at Civita-Vecchia for the uſe of the Spaniſh forces under count Gages, Matthews interpreted this tranſaction into a violation of the neutrality which the pope had profeſſed, and ſent thither a ſquadron to bombard the place. The city of Rome was filled with conſternation; and the pope had recourſe to the good offices of his Sardinian majeſty, in conſequence of which the Engliſh ſquadron was ordered to withdraw. The captains of ſingle cruiſing ſhips, by their activity and vigilance, wholly interrupted the commerce of Spain; cannonaded and burnt ſome towns on the ſea-ſide, and kept the whole coaſt in continual alarm.

In the Weſt Indies ſome unſucceſsful efforts were made by an Engliſh ſquadron, commanded by commodore Knowles. He attacked La Gueira, on the

coaſt of Carraccas, in the month of February; but met with ſuch a warm reception, that he was obliged to deſiſt, and make the beſt of his way for the Dutch iſland Curaçoa, where he repaired the damage he had ſuſtained. His ſhips being refitted, he made another attempt upon Porto-Cavallo in April, which, like the former, miſcarried.

By the parliamentary diſputes, the loud clamours, and general diſſatisfaction of the people of Great Britain, the French miniſtry were perſuaded, that the nation was ripe for revolt. This belief was corroborated by the aſſertions of their emiſſaries in different parts of Great Britain and Ireland. They gave the court of Verſailles to underſtand, that if the chevalier de St. George, or his eldeſt ſon Charles-Edward, ſhould appear at the head of a French army in Great Britain, a revolution would inſtantly follow in his favour. This intimation was agreeable to cardinal de Tencin, who had ſucceeded Fleury, as prime miniſter of France. He was of a violent interpriſing temper. He had been recommended to the purple, by the chevalier de St. George, and was warmly attached to the Stuart family. His ambition was flattered with a proſpect of giving a king to Great Britain; of and performing ſuch eminent ſervice to his benefactor, in reſtoring him to the throne of his anceſtors. He foreſaw, that even if his aim ſhould miſcarry, a deſcent upon Great Britain would make a conſiderable diverſion from the continent in favour of France, and embroil and embarraſs his Britannic majeſty, who was the chief ſupport of the houſe of Auſtria and all its allies. Actuated by theſe motives, he concerted meaſures with the chevalier de St. George at Rome; who being too much advanced in years to engage perſonally in ſuch an expedition, agreed to delegate his pretenſions and authority to his ſon Charles. Count Saxe was appointed by the French king commander of the troops deſigned for this expedition, which amounted to 15,000. Charles departed from Rome

Rome about the end of December, in the diſguiſe of a Spaniſh courier, attended by one ſervant only: and proſecuting his journey to Paris, was indulged with a private audience of the French king. The Britiſh miniſtry being appriſed of his arrival in France, at once comprehended the deſtination of the armaments prepared at Breſt and Boulogne. Mr. Thomſon, the Engliſh reſident at Paris, received orders to make a remonſtrance to the French miniſtry, on the violation of thoſe treaties by which the pretender to the crown of Great Britain was excluded from the territories of France. But he was given to underſtand, that his moſt chriſtian majeſty would not explain himſelf on that ſubject, until the king of England ſhould have given ſatisfaction on the repeated complaints which had been made to him, touching the infractions of thoſe treaties which had been ſo often violated by his orders.

In the month of January, M. de Roquefeuille ſailed from Breſt, directing his courſe up the Engliſh channel, with twenty ſhips of war. Sir John Norris was forthwith ordered to take the command of the ſquadron at Spithead, with which he ſailed round to the Downs, where he was joined by ſome ſhips of the line from Chatham, and then he found himſelf at the head of a ſquadron conſiderably ſtronger than that of the enemy.

Several regiments marched to the ſouthern coaſt of England: all governors and commanders were ordered to repair immediately to their reſpective poſts: the forts at the mouth of the Thames and the Medway were put in a poſture of defence. A proclamation was iſſued for putting the laws in execution againſt papiſts and nonjurors, who were commanded to retire ten miles from London; and every precaution taken which ſeemed neceſſary for the preſervation of the public tranquillity.

Mean while the French court proceeded with their preparations, at Boulogne and Dunkirk, under the

eye of the younger pretender; and 7000 men were actually embarked. M. de Roquefeuille ſailed up the channel as far as Dungeneſs, a promontory on the coaſt of Kent, after having detached M. de Barreil with five ſhips, to haſten the embarkation at Dunkirk. While the French admiral anchored off Dungeneſs, he perceived, on the 24th day of February, the Britiſh fleet under Sir John Norris, doubling the South-Foreland from the Downs; and, though the wind was againſt him, taking the opportunity of the tide to come up and engage the French ſquadron. Roquefeuille, who little expected ſuch a viſit, could not be altogether compoſed, conſidering the great ſuperiority of his enemies; but the tide failing, the Engliſh admiral was obliged to anchor two leagues ſhort of the enemy. In this interval, M. Roquefeuille called a council of war; in which it was determined to avoid an engagement, to weigh anchor at ſunſet, and make the beſt of their way to the place from whence they had ſet ſail. This reſolution was favoured by a very hard gale of wind, which began to blow from the north-eaſt, and carried them down the channel with incredible expedition. But the ſame ſtorm which, in all probability, ſaved their fleet from deſtruction, utterly diſconcerted the deſign of invading England. A great number of their tranſports was driven aſhore and deſtroyed, and the reſt ſo much damaged that they could not be ſpeedily repaired.

The Engliſh were now maſters at ſea, and their coaſt was ſo well guarded, that the enterpriſe could not be proſecuted with any probability of ſucceſs. The French generals nominated to ſerve in this expedition returned to Paris, and the pretender reſolved to wait a more favourable opportunity. The French king no longer preſerved any meaſures with the court of London: the Britiſh reſident at Paris was given to underſtand, that a declaration of war muſt enſue; and this was actually publiſhed on the 20th day of

March, 1744. The king of Great Britain was taxed with having diſſuaded the court of Vienna from entertaining any thoughts of an accommodation; with having infringed the convention of Hanover; with having exerciſed piracy upon the ſubjects of France, and even with blocking up the harbour of Toulon. On the 31ſt of March, a like denunciation of war againſt France was publiſhed at London, amidſt the acclamations of the people.

An action happened in the Mediterranean between the Britiſh fleet, commanded by admiral Matthews, and the combined ſquadrons of France and Spain, which had been for ſome time blocked up in the harbour of Toulon. On the 9th day of February, 1744, they were perceived ſtanding out of the road, to the number of 34 ſail: the Engliſh admiral immediately weighed from Hieres-bay; and on the 11th, part of the fleets engaged. Matthews attacked the Spaniſh admiral, Don Navarro, whoſe ſhip, the Real, was a firſt rate, mounted with above 100 guns. The rear-admiral Rowley ſingled out M. de Court, who commanded the French ſquadron; and a very few captains followed the example of their commanders: but vice-admiral Leſtock, with his whole diviſion, remained at a great diſtance aſtern; and ſeveral captains, that were immediately under the eye of Matthews, behaved in ſuch a manner as reflected diſgrace upon their country.

The whole tranſaction was conducted without order or deliberation. The French and Spaniards would have willingly avoided an engagement, as the Britiſh ſquadron was ſuperior to them in ſtrength and number. M. de Court therefore made the beſt of his way toward the Streights mouth, probably with intention to join the Breſt ſquadron: but he had orders to protect the Spaniſh fleet; and as they ſailed heavily, he was obliged to wait for them, at the hazard of maintaining a battle with the Engliſh. Thus circumſtanced, he made ſail and lay to by turns; ſo that

the Britiſh admiral could not engage them in proper order; and as they out-ſailed his ſhips, he began to fear they would eſcape him altogether ſhould he wait for vice-admiral Leſtock, who was ſo far aſtern. Under this apprehenſion, he made the ſignal for engaging, while that for the line of battle was ſtill diſplayed; and this inconſiſtency naturally introduced confuſion. The fight was maintained by the few who engaged, with great vivacity. The Real being quite diſabled, and lying like a wreck upon the water, Mr. Matthews ſent a fireſhip to deſtroy her; but the expedient did not take effect. The ſhip ordered to cover this machine, did not obey the ſignal; ſo that the captain of the fireſhip was expoſed to the whole fire of the enemy. Nevertheleſs, he continued to advance until he found the veſſel ſinking; and being within a few yards of the Real, he ſet fire to the fuſees. The ſhip was immediately in flames, in the midſt of which, he and his lieutenant, with twelve men, periſhed. This was likewiſe the fate of a Spaniſh launch, which had been manned with fifty ſailors to prevent the fireſhip from running on board the Real. One ſhip of the line, belonging to the Spaniſh ſquadron, ſtruck to captain Hawke, who ſent a lieutenant to take poſſeſſion of her; ſhe was afterward retaken by the French ſquadron; but was found ſo diſabled, that they left her deſerted, and ſhe was next day burned by order of admiral Matthews.

At night, the action ceaſed; and the admiral found his own ſhip ſo much damaged, that he moved his flag into another. Captain Cornwall fell in the engagement, after having exhibited a remarkable proof of courage and intrepidity: but, the loſs of men was very inconſiderable. Next day the enemy appeared to leeward, and the admiral gave chace till night, when he brought to, that he might be joined by the ſhips a-ſtern. They were perceived again on the 13th at a conſiderable diſtance, and purſued till the evening. In the morning of the 14th, 20 ſail of them

them were ſeen diſtinctly, and Leſtock with his diviſion had gained ground of them conſiderably, by noon; but admiral Matthews diſplayed the ſignal for leaving off chace, and bore away for Port-mahon, to repair the damage he had ſuſtained. Mean while, the combined ſquadrons continued their courſe toward the coaſt of Spain.

Admiral Matthews, on his arrival at Minorca, accuſed Leſtock of having miſbehaved on the day of action; ſuſpended him from his office, and ſent him priſoner to England; where, in his turn, he accuſed his accuſer. Long before the engagement, theſe two officers had expreſſed the moſt virulent reſentment againſt each other. Matthews was brave, open, and undiſguiſed; but proud, imperious, and precipitate. Leſtock had ſignalized his courage on many occaſions, and perfectly underſtood the whole diſcipline of the navy; but he was cool, and vindictive. He had been treated ſupercilioufly by Matthews, and in revenge took advantage of his errors and precipitation. To gratify this paſſion, he betrayed the intereſt and glory of his country; for, it is not to be doubted, but that he might have come up in time to engage; and in that caſe, the fleets of France and Spain would in all likelihood have been deſtroyed: but he intrenched himſelf within the punctilios of diſcipline, and ſaw with pleaſure his antagoniſt expoſe himſelf to the hazard of death, ruin, and diſgrace. Matthews himſelf, in the ſequel, ſacrificed his duty to his reſentment, in reſtraining Leſtock from purſuing and attacking the combined ſquadrons on the third day after the engagement, when they appeared diſabled and in manifeſt diſorder, and would have fallen an eaſy prey, had they been vigorouſly attacked. One can hardly, without indignation, reflect upon thoſe inſtances, in which a community has ſo ſeverely ſuffered from the perſonal animoſity of individuals. The miſcarriage off Toulon became the ſubject of a parliamentary enquiry in England.

A court-martial was conſtituted, and proceeded to trial. Several commanders of ſhips were caſhiered: vice-admiral Leſtock was honourably acquitted, and admiral Matthews rendered incapable of ſerving for the future in his majeſty's navy. All the world knew that Leſtock kept aloof, and that Matthews ruſhed into the hotteſt part of the engagement: yet, the former triumphed on his trial, and the latter narrowly eſcaped ſentence of death for cowardice and miſconduct. Such deciſions are not to be accounted for, except from prejudice and faction.

After the action at Toulon, nothing of conſequence was atchieved by the Britiſh ſquadron in the Mediterranean; and indeed the naval power of Great Britain was, during the ſummer, quite inactive. In the month of June, commodore Anſon returned from his voyage of three years and nine months, in which he had ſurrounded the terraqueous globe. Though this fortunate commander enriched himſelf by an occurrence that may be termed almoſt accidental, the Britiſh nation was not indemnified for the expence of the expedition, and the original deſign was entirely defeated. Had the Manilla ſhip eſcaped the vigilance of the Engliſh commodore, he might have been, at his return to England, laid aſide as a ſuperannuated captain, and died in obſcurity: but his great wealth inveſted him with conſiderable influence, and added luſtre to his talents. He ſoon became the oracle which was conſulted in all naval deliberations: and the king raiſed him to the dignity of a peerage.

In July, Sir John Balchen, an admiral of approved valour and great experience, ſailed from Spithead with a ſtrong ſquadron, in queſt of an opportunity to attack the French fleet at Breſt, under the command of M. de Rochambault. In the bay of Biſcay, he was overtaken by a violent ſtorm, that diſperſed the ſhips, and drove them up the Engliſh channel. Admiral Stewart, with the greater part of them, arrived at Plymouth; but Sir John Balchen's own ſhip, the Victory, which

was

was counted the moſt beautiful firſt rate in the world, foundered at ſea; and this brave commander periſhed with all his officers, volunteers, and crew, amounting to 1100 choice ſeamen.

The naval tranſactions of Great Britain were in the year 1745 remarkably ſpirited. In the Mediterranean, admiral Rowley had ſucceeded Matthews in the command; and Savona, Genoa, Final, St. Remo, with Baſtia the capital of Corſica, were bombarded: ſeveral Spaniſh ſhips were taken; but he could not prevent the ſafe arrival of their rich Havannah ſquadron at Corunna. Commodore Barnet in the Weſt Indies made prize of ſeveral French ſhips richly laden; and commodore Townſhend, in the latitude of Martinico, took about 30 merchant-ſhips belonging to the enemy, under convoy of four ſhips of war, two of which were deſtroyed. The Engliſh privateers likewiſe met with uncommon ſucceſs. But the moſt important atchievement was the conqueſt of Louiſburgh, on the iſland of Cape-Breton, in North America; a place of great conſequence, which the French had fortified at a prodigious expence. The ſcheme of reducing this fortreſs was planned in Boſton, recommended by their general-aſſembly, and approved by his majeſty; who ſent inſtructions to commodore Warren, ſtationed off the Leeward Iſlands, to ſail for the northern parts of America, and to cooperate with the forces of New England in this expedition. A body of 6000 men was formed under the conduct of Mr. Pepperel, a trader of Piſcataway, whoſe influence was extenſive in that country; though he was a man of little or no education, and utterly unacquainted with military operations. In April, Mr. Warren arrived at Canſo with ten ſhips of war; and the troops of New England being embarked in tranſports, ſailed immediately for the iſle of Cape-Breton, where they landed without oppoſition. The enemy abandoned their grand battery, which was detached from the town; and the immediate ſeizure of it con-

tributed in a good meaſure to the ſucceſs of the enterprize. While the American troops, reinforced by 800 marines, carried on their approaches by land, the ſquadron blocked up the place by ſea in ſuch a manner, that no ſuccours could be introduced. A French ſhip of the line, with ſome ſmaller veſſels, deſtined for the relief of the garriſon, were intercepted and taken by the Britiſh cruiſers; and indeed, the reduction of Louiſburgh was chiefly owing to the vigilance and activity of Mr. Warren, one of the braveſt and beſt officers in the ſervice of England. The operations of the ſiege were wholly conducted by the engineers and officers who commanded the Britiſh marines; and the Americans, being ignorant of war, were contented to act under their directions. The town being conſiderably damaged by the bombs and bullets of the beſiegers, and the governor deſpairing of relief, capitulated on the 17th day of June. The garriſon and inhabitants engaged, that they would not bear arms for twelve months againſt Great Britain or her allies; and were tranſported to Rochfort. In a few days after the ſurrender of Louiſburgh, two French Eaſt India ſhips, and another from Peru laden with treaſure, ſailed into the harbour, on the ſuppoſition that it ſtill belonged to France; and were taken by the Engliſh ſquadron*.

The poſſeſſion of Cape-Breton was, doubtleſs, a valuable acquiſition to Great Britain. It not only diſtreſſed the French in their fiſhery and navigation, but removed all fears of encroachment and rivalſhip from the Engliſh fiſhers on the banks of Newfoundland. It freed New England from the terrors of a dangerous neighbour; over-awed the Indians of that country; and ſecured the poſſeſſion of Acadia to the crown of Great Britain. The natives of New England acquired great glory from the ſucceſs of this enterpriſe. Britain, which had in ſome inſtances behaved like a ſtepmother to her own colonies, was now convinced

* See Ulloa's Voyage, in our firſt volume, p. 484.

of

of their importance; and treated thoſe as brethren whom ſhe had too long conſidered as aliens and rivals. Circumſtanced as the nation is, the legiſlature cannot too tenderly cheriſh the intereſts of the Britiſh plantations in America. They are inhabited by a brave, hardy, induſtrious people, animated with an active ſpirit of commerce; inſpired with a noble zeal for liberty and independence.

While the continent of Europe and the iſles of America were expoſed to the ravages of war, Great Britain underwent a dangerous convulſion in her own bowels. The ſon of the chevalier de St. George reſolved to make another effort, which, though it might not be crowned with ſucceſs, ſhould at leaſt aſtoniſh all Chriſtendom. He was amuſed with the promiſe of powerful ſuccours from France, though the miniſtry of that kingdom were never hearty in his cauſe: nevertheleſs they foreſaw, that his appearance in England would embarraſs the government, and make a conſiderable diverſion in their favour. Certain it is, that if he had been properly ſupported, he could not have found a more favourable opportunity of exciting an inteſtine commotion in Great Britain; for Scotland was quite unfurniſhed with troops, and the king was in Germany.

The young pretender accordingly embarked on board a frigate at Port Lazare in Brittany, and ſailed for Scotland on the 14th of July, 1745. The frigate was joined off Belleiſle by the Elizabeth, a French man of war of ſixty guns, which the miniſtry had fitted out to convoy him in this expedition. As his deſign was to ſail round Ireland, and land in the north-weſt of Scotland, the ſhips ſteered for the ſouthern coaſt of the former; but in their paſſage were met by the Lion man of war, commanded by captain Brett, which, after a long engagement, ſo effectually diſabled the Elizabeth, that ſhe was obliged to return to Breſt. The frigate eſcaped, and continued her courſe with ſuch expedition, that on the 23d of July, the

the young pretender found himſelf in the weſtern iſles of Scotland, where he continued cruiſing till the 26th between the iſlands of Bara and South Viſt; but finding there was no hopes of being joined by the Elizabeth, the frigate ſtood in for the coaſt of Lochaber, one of the maritime counties on the north-weſt of Scotland, inhabited principally by papiſts; and on the 27th of July, landed the young pretender and his companions at Moidart, between the iſlands of Sky and Mull.

We ſhall not follow this young adventurer, as the ſubject is very foreign to a naval hiſtory; it being ſufficient to obſerve, that his party was totally defeated by his royal highneſs the duke of Cumberland at Culloden, on the 16th of April, 1746, which put an end to this rebellion.

During theſe tranſactions, our miniſtry ſeemed determined to make an attempt on Quebec; and a large ſquadron was accordingly aſſembled at Portſmouth, and ſeveral regiments, under the command of lieutenant-general Sinclair, embarked: but after many delays, the expedition to Quebec was laid aſide, and the fleet ſailed to the coaſt of Brittany, and landed the troops in Quimperlay-bay, near Port l'Orient, which they beſieged: but when the city was juſt going to ſurrender, they retreated in the night with the greateſt precipitation, leaving behind them a mortar, and a conſiderable quantity of ammunition and ſtores. The Exeter man of war however engaged the Ardente, a 64 gun ſhip, forced her aſhore and burnt her.

The French king, baffled in his projects upon Italy, in 1747, was not more fortunate in his naval operations. He had, in the preceding year, equipped an expenſive armament, under the command of the duke d'Anville, for the recovery of Cape-Breton; but it was rendered ineffectual by ſtorms, diſtempers, and the death of the commander. Not yet diſcouraged by theſe diſaſters, he reſolved to renew his efforts againſt the

the Britiſh colonies in North America, and their ſettlements in the Eaſt Indies. For theſe purpoſes two ſquadrons were prepared at Breſt; one to be commanded by the commodore de la Jonquiere, and the other, deſtined for India, by monſieur de St. George. The miniſtry of Great Britain, being apprized of theſe meaſures, reſolved to intercept both ſquadrons, which were to ſet ſail together. For this purpoſe vice-admiral Anſon and rear-admiral Warren took their departure from Plymouth with a formidable fleet, and ſteered their courſe to Cape Finiſterre on the coaſt of Gallicia.

On the 3d day of May, they fell in with the French ſquadrons, commanded by la Jonquiere and St. George, conſiſting of ſix large ſhips of war, as many frigates, and four armed veſſels equipped by their Eaſt India company, having under their convoy about thirty ſhips laden with merchandize. Thoſe prepared for war immediately ſhortened ſail, and formed a line of battle; while the reſt, under the protection of the ſix frigates, proceeded on their voyage with all the ſail they could carry. The Britiſh ſquadron was likewiſe drawn up in a line of battle: but Mr. Warren perceiving that the enemy began to ſheer off, now their convoy was at a conſiderable diſtance, adviſed admiral Anſon to haul in the ſignal for the line, and hoiſt another for giving chace and engaging, otherwiſe the French would in all probability eſcape by favour of the night. The propoſal was embraced: and in a little time the engagement began with great fury, about four o'clock in the afternoon. The enemy ſuſtained the battle with equal conduct and valour, until they were overpowered by numbers, and then they ſtruck their colours. The admiral detached three ſhips in purſuit of the convoy, nine ſail of which were taken; but the reſt were ſaved by the intervening darkneſs. About ſeven hundred of the French were killed and wounded in this action. The Engliſh loſt about five hundred; and among theſe, captain

captain Grenville, commander of the ſhip Defiance. The ſucceſs of the Britiſh arms, in this engagement, was chiefly owing to the conduct, activity, and courage of the rear-admiral. A conſiderable quantity of bullion was found in the prizes, which were brought to Spithead in triumph; and the treaſure being landed, was conveyed in twenty waggons to the bank of London. Admiral Anſon was ennobled, and Mr. Warren honoured with the order of the Bath.

About the middle of June, commodore Fox, with ſix ſhips of war, cruiſing in the latitude of Cape Ortegal in Gallicia, took about forty French ſhips, richly laden from St. Domingo, after they had been abandoned by their convoy. But the French king ſuſtained another more important loſs at ſea, in the month of October. Rear-admiral Hawke ſailed from Plymouth in the beginning of Auguſt, with 14 ſhips of the line, to intercept a fleet of French merchant-ſhips bound for the Weſt Indies. He cruiſed for ſome time on the coaſt of Bretagne; and at length, the French fleet ſailed from the iſle of Aix, under convoy of nine ſhips of the line, beſide frigates, commanded by monſieur de Letenduer. On the 14th day of October, the two ſquadrons were in ſight of each other, in the latitude of Belleiſle. The French commodore immediately ordered one of his great ſhips and the frigates to proceed with the trading ſhips, while he formed the line of battle, and waited the attack. At eleven in the forenoon, admiral Hawke diſplayed the ſignal to chace, and in half an hour both fleets were engaged. The battle laſted till night, when all the French ſquadron, except the Intrepid and Tonant, had ſtruck to the Engliſh flag. Theſe two capital ſhips eſcaped in the dark, and returned to Breſt in a ſhattered condition. The French captains ſuſtained the unequal fight with uncommon bravery and reſolution, and did not yield until their ſhips were diſabled. Their loſs in men amounted to 800: the number of Engliſh killed in this engage-

ment

ment did not exceed 200, including captain Saumarez, a gallant officer, who had ſerved under lord Anſon in his expedition to the Pacific Ocean. Indeed, it muſt be owned, for the honour of that nobleman, that all the officers formed under his example, and raiſed by his influence, approved themſelves in all reſpects worthy of the commands to which they were preferred. Immediately after the action, admiral Hawke diſpatched a ſloop to commodore Legge, whoſe ſquadron was ſtationed at the Leeward Iſlands, with intelligence of the French fleet of merchant-ſhips, outward-bound, that he might take the proper meaſures for intercepting them in their paſſage to Martinique, and the other French iſlands. In conſequence of this advice, he redoubled his vigilance, and a good number of them fell into his hands.

In the Mediterranean, vice-admiral Medley blocked up the Spaniſh ſquadron in Carthagena; aſſiſted the Auſtrian general on the coaſt of Villa-Franca; and intercepted ſome of the ſuccours ſent from France to the aſſiſtance of the Genoeſe. At his death, which happened in the beginning of Auguſt, the command of that ſquadron devolved upon rear-admiral Byng, who proceeded on the ſame plan of operation. Commodore Griffin had been ſent with a reinforcement of ſhips, to aſſume the command of the ſquadron in the Eaſt Indies; and although his arrival ſecured Fort St. David's, and the other Britiſh ſettlements in that country, from the inſults of monſieur de la Bourdonnais, his ſtrength was not ſufficient to enable him to undertake any enterpriſe of importance againſt the enemy: the miniſtry of England therefore reſolved to equip a freſh armament, that, when joined by the ſhips in India, ſhould be in a condition to beſiege Pondicherry, the principal ſettlement belonging to the French on the coaſt of Coromandel. For this ſervice, a ſtrong ſquadron was ſent, under the conduct of rear-admiral Boſcawen, an officer of unqueſ-

tioned valour and capacity. In the courſe of this year, the Britiſh cruiſers were ſo alert and ſucceſsful, that they took 644 prizes from the French and Spaniards; whereas the loſs of Great Britain, in the ſame time, did not exceed 550.

All the belligerant powers were, by this time, heartily tired of a war which had conſumed an immenſity of treaſure, had been productive of ſo much miſchief, and in the events of which, all, in their turns, had found themſelves diſappointed. Immediately after the battle of Laffeldt, the king of France had, in a perſonal converſation with Sir John Ligonier, expreſſed his deſire of a pacification; and afterward his miniſter at the Hague preſented a declaration on the ſame ſubject, to the deputies of the ſtates-general. The ſignal ſucceſs of the Britiſh arms at ſea, confirmed him in theſe ſentiments, which were likewiſe reinforced by a variety of other conſiderations. His finances were almoſt exhauſted, and his ſupplies from the Spaniſh Weſt Indies rendered ſo precarious, by the vigilance of the Britiſh cruiſers, that he could no longer depend on their arrival. The trading part of his ſubjects had ſuſtained ſuch loſſes, that his kingdom was filled with bankruptcies; and the beſt part of his navy now contributed to ſtrengthen the fleets of his enemies. The election of a ſtadtholder had united the whole power of the ſtates-general againſt him, in taking the moſt reſolute meaſures for their own ſafety: his views in Germany were entirely fruſtrated; the ſucceſs of his arms in Italy had not at all anſwered his expectation: and Genoa was become an expenſive ally. He had the mortification to ſee the commerce of Britain flouriſh in the midſt of war, while his own people were utterly impoveriſhed. The parliament of England granted, and the nation payed, ſuch incredible ſums as enabled their ſovereign, not only to maintain invincible navies and formidable armies, but likewiſe to give ſubſidies to all the powers of Europe. His moſt chriſtian

chriſtian majeſty, moved by theſe conſiderations, made farther advances toward an accommodation, both at the Hague and in London; and the contending powers agreed to a congreſs, which was opened in March, 1748, at Aix-la-Chapelle, where peace was ſigned the 7th of October following.

The Britiſh fleet in the Eaſt Indies, under the command of admiral Boſcawen, undertook the ſiege of Pondicherry; but after the moſt vigorous attempts to take the place, the admiral was obliged to raiſe the ſiege, and return to Fort St. David.

Thus have we brought this war to a concluſion; and ſhall conclude with obſerving, that the number of prizes taken by the Engliſh, from the beginning to the ſigning the preliminaries of peace, was 3434; namely, 1249 from the Spaniards, and 2185 from the French: and that they loſt, during the war, 3238; 1360 being taken by the Spaniards, and 1878 by the French. Several of the ſhips taken from the Spaniards were immenſely rich; ſo that the balance upon the whole amounted to almoſt two millions, in favour of the Engliſh.

Notwithſtanding a general peace was ſigned, yet the French gave continual proofs of their intention to obſerve it no longer than was conſiſtent with their intereſt; and that they intended to make themſelves maſters of ſome parts of our ſettlements in America. In order to which, they built a chain of forts on the back of our colonies, from the Miſſiſippi to Canada, and gained over great part of the Indians to their intereſt.

Every method of negotiation was tried to put an end to theſe diſputes; but the repeated and undoubted intelligence received from France, Holland, Italy, &c. of the great naval preparations making in every port of France, and of a great number of veteran troops drawn out of their ſeveral corps, and deſtined for America, convinced the Britiſh miniſtry, that nothing was to be hoped for from a negotiation.

Accord-

Accordingly a ſtrong fleet was fitted out in 1754, to fruſtrate the deſigns of the enemy, and protect the Britiſh colonies in America.

Whilſt all Europe was in ſuſpence about the fate of the Engliſh and the French ſquadrons, preparations for a vigorous ſea-war were going forward in England with an unparalleled ſpirit and ſucceſs. Other branches of the public ſervice went on with equal alacrity; and ſuch was the eagerneſs of the people to lend their money to the government, that inſtead of one million, which was to be raiſed by way of lottery, three millions eight hundred and eighty thouſand pounds were ſubſcribed immediately.

Admiral Boſcawen, with eleven ſhips of the line and a frigate, having taken on board two regiments at Plymouth, ſailed in April for the banks of Newfoundland: and, in a few days after his arrival there, the French fleet from Breſt came to the ſame ſtation, under the command of M. Bois de la Mothe. But the thick fogs, which prevail upon theſe coaſts, eſpecially at that time of the year, kept the two armaments from ſeeing each other; and part of the French ſquadron eſcaped up the river St. Lawrence, whilſt another part of them went round, and got into the ſame river through the ſtreights of Belleiſle, by a way which was never known to be attempted before by ſhips of the line. However, whilſt the Engliſh fleet lay off Cape Race, which is the ſouthernmoſt point of Newfoundland, two French ſhips, the Alcide, of 64 guns and 480 men, and the Lys, pierced for 64 guns, but mounting only 22, being ſeparated from the reſt of their fleet in a fog, were both taken, with ſeveral conſiderable officers and engineers, and about eight thouſand pounds in money.

Though the taking of theſe ſhips, from which the commencement of the war may in fact be dated, fell greatly ſhort of what was hoped for from this expedition; yet, when the news of it reached England, it was of infinite ſervice to the public credit of every kind,

and

and animated the whole nation, who now ſaw plainly that the government was determined to keep no farther meaſures with the French; but juſtly to repel force by force, and put a ſtop to their ſending more men and arms to invade the property of the Engliſh in America, as they had hitherto done with impunity. The French, who, for ſome time, did not even attempt to make repriſals on our ſhipping, would gladly have choſen to avoid a war at that time; and to have continued extending their encroachments on our ſettlements, till they had executed their grand plan of ſecuring a communication from the Miſſiſippi to Canada by a line of forts: many of theſe they had already erected, and had alſo deſtroyed one of ours on the Ohio; whilſt they endeavoured to amuſe us with fruitleſs negotiations about the boundaries of Nova Scotia.

The vaſt increaſe of the French marine of late years, which in all probability would ſoon be employed againſt Britain, very properly occaſioned an order for making repriſals general in Europe as well as in America; and that all the French ſhips, whether outward or homeward bound, ſhould be ſtopt and brought into Britiſh ports. To give the greater weight to theſe orders, it was reſolved to ſend out thoſe admirals who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves moſt, toward the end of the laſt war. Accordingly, Sir Edward Hawke ſailed on a cruiſe to the weſtward, with 18 ſhips of the line, a frigate and a ſloop; but, not meeting with the French fleet, theſe ſhips returned to England. Another fleet, conſiſting of 22 ſhips of the line, two frigates, and two ſloops, ſailed again on a cruiſe to the weſtward, under admiral Byng, in hopes of intercepting the French ſquadron under Duguay, and likewiſe that commanded by La Mothe, in caſe of its return from America. But this fleet likewiſe returned to Spithead, without having been able to effect any thing; though it was allowed, that

the admiral had acted judiciously in the choice of his stations.

In the mean time, the French trade was so annoyed by the English cruisers, that, before the end of this year, 300 of their merchant-ships, many of which, from St. Domingo and Martinico, were extreamly rich; and 8000 of their sailors were brought into English ports. By these captures the British ministry answered many purposes: they deprived the French of a great body of seamen, and withheld from them a very large property, the want of which greatly distressed their people, and ruined many of their traders. The outward-bound merchant-ships were insured at the rate of 30 per cent. whilst the English paid no more than the common insurance. This intolerable burden was felt by all degrees of people amongst them: their ministry was publicly reviled, even by their parliaments; and the French name, from being the terror, began to be the contempt of Europe.

Though the English continued to make reprisals upon the French, not only in the seas of America, but also in those of Europe, by taking every ship they could meet with; yet the French, whether from a consciousness of their want of power by sea, or that they might have a more plausible plea to represent England as the aggressor, were so far from returning these hostilities, that their fleet, which escaped Sir Edward Hawke, having taken the Blandford man of war, with governor Lyttelton on board, going to Carolina, they set the governor at liberty, as soon as the court was informed of the ship's being brought into Nantes, and shortly after released both the ship and the crew. However, at the same time, their preparations for a land-war still went on with great diligence; and their utmost arts and efforts were fruitlessly exerted to persuade the Spaniards and Dutch to join with them against Great Britain.

The

The Engliſh navy, ſo early as in the month of September, 1755, conſiſted of one ſhip of 110 guns, five of 100 guns each, thirteen of 90, eight of 80, five of 74, twenty-nine of 70, four of 66, one of 64, thirty-three of 60, three of 54, twenty-eight of 50, four of 44, thirty-five of 40, and forty-two of 20; four ſloops of war of 18 guns each, two of 16, eleven of 14, thirteen of 12, and one of 10; beſide a great number of bomb-ketches, fireſhips, and tenders: a force ſufficient to oppoſe the united maritime ſtrength of all the powers in Europe. Whilſt that of the French, even at the end of this year, and including the ſhips then upon the ſtocks, amounted to no more than ſix ſhips of 80, twenty-one of 74, one of 72, four of 70, thirty-one of 64, two of 60, ſix of 50, and thirty-two frigates.

Under the cloak of an invading armament, which engroſſed the attention of the Britiſh nation, the French were actually employed in preparations for an expedition, which ſucceeded according to their wiſh. In the beginning of the year 1756, advice was received that a French ſquadron would ſoon be in a condition to ſail from Toulon, conſiſting of 12 or 15 ſhips of the line, with a great number of tranſports; that they were ſupplied with proviſion for two months only, conſequently could not be intended for America. Notwithſtanding theſe particulars of information, which plainly pointed out Minorca as the object of their expedition; notwithſtanding the extenſive and important commerce carried on by the ſubjects of Great Britain in the Mediterranean; no proper care was taken to ſend thither a ſquadron of ſhips capable to protect the trade, and fruſtrate the deſigns of the enemy. Nay, the miniſtry ſeemed to pay little or no regard to the remonſtrance of general Blakeney, deputy-governor of Minorca, who, in repeated advices, repreſented the weakneſs of the garriſon which he commanded in St. Philip's caſtle,

the chief fortreſs on the iſland. Far from ſtrengthening the garriſon with a proper reinforcement, they did not even ſend thither the officers belonging to it, who were in England upon leave of abſence; nor gave direction for any veſſel to tranſport them, until the French armament was ready to make a deſcent upon that iſland. At laſt their deſign was ſo univerſally known, that the miniſtry could not any longer defer ſending ſuccours to a place of ſo much importance to the trade of Great Britain. Accordingly vice-admiral Byng was ſent with ten ſhips of the line to the Mediterranean in April; and war was declared in May.

When admiral Byng arrived at Gibraltar, he found captain Edgecumbe with the Princeſs Louiſa ſhip of war, and a ſloop; who informed him, that the French armament, commanded by Mr. de la Galiſſoniere, conſiſting of 13 ſhips of the line, with a great number of tranſports, having on board a body of 15,000 land-forces, had made a deſcent upon the iſland of Minorca; from whence he (captain Edgecumbe) had been obliged to retire at their approach.

This admiral, being ſtrengthened by Mr. Edgecumbe, and reinforced by a detachment from the garriſon, ſet ſail from Gibraltar on the 8th day of May, and was joined off Majorca by his majeſty's ſhip the Phœnix, captain Hervey, who confirmed the intelligence he had already received. When he approached Minorca, he deſcried the Britiſh colours ſtill flying at the caſtle of St. Philip's, and ſeveral bomb-batteries playing upon it from different quarters, where the French banners were diſplayed. The French fleet appeared ſoon after, to the ſouth-eaſt, and the wind blowing ſtrong off ſhore, he formed the line of battle. About ſix o'clock in the evening, the enemy, to the number of 17 ſhips, 13 of which appeared to be very large, advanced in order; but about ſeven tacked, with a view to gain the weather-gage. Mr. Byng, in order to preſerve that advantage, as well as to make ſure of the land-wind in the morning,

ing, followed their example, being then about five leagues from Cape Mola.

At day-light the enemy could not be deſcried; but ſoon re-appearing, the line of battle was formed on each ſide; and, about two o'clock, admiral Byng threw out a ſignal to bear away two points from the wind, and engage. At this time his diſtance from the enemy was ſo great, that rear-admiral Weſt, perceiving it impoſſible to comply with both orders, bore away with his diviſion ſeven points from the wind; and, cloſing down upon the enemy, attacked them with ſuch impetuoſity, that the ſhips which oppoſed him were in a little time driven out of the line. Had he been properly ſuſtained by the van, in all probability the Britiſh fleet would have obtained a compleat victory: but the other diviſion did not bear down, and the enemy's center keeping their ſtation, rear-admiral Weſt could not purſue his advantage without running the riſque of ſeeing his communication with the reſt of the line entirely cut off.

In the beginning of the action, the Intrepid, of Mr. Byng's diviſion, was ſo diſabled in her rigging, that ſhe could not be managed, and drove on the ſhip that was next in poſition: a circumſtance which obliged ſeveral others to throw all a-back, in order to avoid confuſion; and for ſome time retarded the action. Certain it is, that Mr. Byng, though accommodated with a noble ſhip of 90 guns, made little or no uſe of his artillery; but kept aloof, either from an over-ſtrained obſervance of diſcipline, or timidity. When his captain exhorted him to bear down upon the enemy, he very coolly replied, That he would avoid the error of admiral Matthews, who, in his engagement with the French and Spaniſh ſquadrons off Toulon, during the preceding war, had broke the line by his own precipitation, and expoſed himſelf ſingly to a fire that he could not ſuſtain. Mr. Byng, on the contrary, was determined againſt acting, except with the line entire; and, on pretence of

rectifying the diſorder which had happened among ſome of the ſhips, heſitated ſo long, and kept at ſuch a wary diſtance, that he never was properly engaged, though he received ſome few ſhots in his hull. Mr. de la Galiſſoniere ſeemed equally averſe to the continuance of the battle: part of his ſquadron had been fairly obliged to quit the line; and though he was rather ſuperior to the Engliſh in number of men and weight of metal, he did not chuſe to abide the conſequence of a cloſer fight: he therefore took advantage of Mr. Byng's heſitation, and edged away with an eaſy ſail to join his van, which had been diſcomfited. The Engliſh admiral gave chace; but the French ſhips being clean, he could not come up and cloſe with them again, ſo they retired at their leiſure. Then he put his ſquadron on the other tack, in order to keep the wind of the enemy; and next morning they were altogether out of ſight.

While, with the reſt of his fleet he lay to, at the diſtance of ten leagues from Mahon, he detached cruiſers to look for ſome miſſing ſhips, which joined him accordingly, and made an enquiry into the condition of the ſquadron. Three of the capital ſhips were ſo damaged in their maſts, that they could not keep the ſea, with any regard to their ſafety: a great number of the ſeamen were ill, and there was no veſſel which could be converted into an hoſpital for the ſick and wounded. In this ſituation, Mr. Byng called a council of war, at which the land-officers were preſent. He repreſented to them, that he was much inferior to the enemy in weight of metal and numbers of men; that they had the advantage of ſending their wounded to Minorca, from whence at the ſame time they were refreſhed and reinforced occaſionally; that, in his opinion, it was impracticable to relieve St. Philip's fort, and therefore they ought to make the beſt of their way back to Gibraltar, which might require immediate protection. They unanimouſly concurred with his ſentiments, and thither he directed

his

his courſe accordingly. How he came to be ſo well acquainted with the impracticability of relieving general Blakeney, is not eaſy to determine, inaſmuch as no experiment was made for that purpoſe. Indeed, the neglect of ſuch a trial ſeems to have been the leaſt excuſable part of his conduct; for it afterward appeared, that the officers and ſoldiers belonging to the garriſon might have been landed at the Sally-port, without running any great riſk; and a gentleman, then in the fort, actually paſſed and repaſſed in a boat, unhurt by any of the enemy's batteries.

Mr. Byng's letter to the admiralty, containing a detail of this action, is ſaid to have arrived ſome days before it was made public; and when it appeared, was curtailed of divers expreſſions and whole paragraphs, which either tended to his own juſtification, or implied a cenſure on the conduct of his ſuperiors. Whatever uſe might have been made of this letter, while it remained a ſecret to the public, we ſhall not pretend to explain: but ſure it is, that on the 16th day of June, Sir Edward Hawke and admiral Saunders ſailed from Spithead to Gibraltar, to ſuperſede the admirals Byng and Weſt, in their commands of the Mediterranean ſquadron; and Mr. Byng's letter was not publiſhed till the twenty-ſixth day of the ſame month: when it appeared, it produced all the effect which that gentleman's bittereſt enemies could have deſired. The populace took fire like a train of combuſtibles, and broke out in ſuch a clamour of rage againſt the devoted admiral, as could not have been exceeded, if he had loſt the whole navy of England, and left the coaſts of the kingdom naked to invaſion. In a word, he was devoted as the ſcape-goat of the m——y, to whoſe miſconduct the loſs of that important fortreſs was undoubtedly owing. Byng's miſcarriage was thrown out like a barrel to the whale, in order to engage the attention of the people, that it might not be attracted by the real cauſe of the national misfor-

tune. In order to keep up the flame which had been kindled againſt the admiral, recourſe was had to the loweſt artifices. Agents were employed to vilify his perſon in all public places of vulgar reſort; and mobs were hired at different parts of the capital to hang and burn him in effigy.

The two officers who ſucceeded to his command in the Mediterranean were accompanied by the lord Tyrawley, whom his majeſty had appointed to ſuperſede general Fowke in the government of Gibraltar; that gentleman having incurred the diſpleaſure of the miniſtry for not having underſtood an order which was unintelligible. Directions were diſpatched to Sir Edward Hawke, that Byng ſhould be ſent home under arreſt: and an order to the ſame purpoſe was lodged at every port in the kingdom. He was accompanied by Mr. Weſt, general Fowke, and ſeveral other officers, who were alſo recalled in conſequence of having ſubſcribed to the council of war, which we have mentioned above. When they arrived in England, Mr. Weſt met with ſuch a reception from his majeſty as was thought due to his extraordinary merit; but Mr. Byng was committed cloſe priſoner in an apartment of Greenwich hoſpital.

From thence Mr. Byng was ſent to Portſmouth, where he was tried by a court-martial; the ſum of whoſe opinion was, that he did not do his utmoſt to relieve Minorca; and that during the engagement he did not do his utmoſt to take, ſeize, and deſtroy the ſhips of the French king, and aſſiſt ſuch of his own ſhips as were engaged. That he therefore fell under part of the twelfth article of war, and the court adjudged him to be ſhot: but as it appeared to the court that it was neither through cowardice or diſaffection, they unanimouſly recommended him to mercy. However, notwithſtanding this recommendation of the court-martial to his majeſty's mercy, and notwithſtanding the interceſſion made for him, an order was ſent down for the execution of the ſentence; and he

was

was ſhot on board the Monarque at Portſmouth, pitied by all the diſpaſſionate part of the nation.

The loſs of Minorca was ſeverely felt in England, as a national diſgrace; but, inſtead of producing dejection and deſpondence, it excited an univerſal reſentment, not only againſt Mr. Byng, who had retreated from the French ſquadron, but alſo in reproach of the adminiſtration.

Sir Edward Hawke, being diſappointed in his hope of encountering la Galiſſoniere, and relieving the Engliſh garriſon of St. Philip's, at leaſt aſſerted the empire of Great Britain in the Mediterranean, by annoying the commerce of the enemy, and blocking up their ſquadron in the harbour of Toulon. Underſtanding that the Auſtrian government at Leghorn had detained an Engliſh privateer, and impriſoned the captain, on pretence that he had violated the neutrality of the port; he detached two ſhips of war to inſiſt, in a peremptory manner, on the releaſe of the ſhip, effects, crew, and captain: and they thought proper to comply with his demand, even without waiting for orders from Vienna. The perſon in whoſe behalf the admiral thus interpoſed, was one Fortunatus Wright, a native of Liverpool; who, though a ſtranger to a ſea-life, had, in the laſt war, equipped a privateer, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf in ſuch a manner, by his uncommon vigilance and valour, that, if he had been indulged with a command ſuitable to his genius, he would have deſerved an honourable place in the annals of the navy. An uncommon exertion of ſpirit was the occaſion of his being detained at this juncture. While he lay at anchor in the harbour of Leghorn, commander of the St. George privateer of Liverpool, a ſmall ſhip of twelve guns and eighty men; a large French xebeque, mounted with ſixteen cannon, and nearly three times the number of his complement, choſe her ſtation in view of the harbour, in order to interrupt the Britiſh commerce. The gallant Wright could not endure this inſult:

notwithſtanding the enemy's ſuperiority in metal and number of men, he weighed anchor, hoiſted his ſails, engaged him within ſight of the ſhore, and after a very obſtinate diſpute, in which the captain, lieutenant, and above threeſcore of the men belonging to the xebeque were killed on the ſpot, he obliged them to ſheer off, and returned to the harbour in triumph. This brave corſair would, no doubt, have ſignalized himſelf by many other exploits, had not he, in the ſequel, been overtaken by a dreadful ſtorm, in which the ſhip foundering, he and all his crew periſhed.

Sir Edward Hawke, having ſcoured the Mediterranean, and inſulted the enemy's ports, returned with the homeward-bound trade to Gibraltar; from whence, about the latter end of the year, he ſet ſail for England with part of his ſquadron, leaving the reſt in that bay for the protection of our commerce.

No action of great importance diſtinguiſhed the naval tranſactions of this year on the ſide of America. In the beginning of June, captain Spry, who commanded a ſmall ſquadron, cruiſing off Louiſbourg, in the iſland of Cape Breton, took the Arc en Ciel, a French ſhip of 50 guns, having on board near 600 men, with a large quantity of ſtores and proviſions for the garriſon. He likewiſe made prize of another French ſhip, with ſtores of the like deſtination. On the 27th day of July, commodore Holmes, being in the ſame latitude, with two large ſhips and a couple of ſloops, engaged two French ſhips of the line and four frigates, and obliged them to ſheer off, after an obſtinate diſpute.

A great number of privateers were equipped in this country, as well as in the Weſt India iſlands belonging to the crown of Great Britain; and as theſe ſeas ſwarmed with French veſſels, their cruizes proved very advantageous to the adventurers.

Scenes of ſtill higher import were this year acted by the Britiſh arms in the Eaſt Indies. The Engliſh and French companies on the peninſula of Indus, proſe-

profecuted their operations, no longer as auxiliaries to the princes of the country, but as principals and rivals, both in arms and commerce. Major Laurence, who now enjoyed the chief command of the Engliſh forces, obtained divers advantages over the enemy; when the progreſs of his arms was interrupted by an unfortunate event at Calcutta, the cauſe of which is not eaſily explained. Surajah Doula, viceroy of Bengal, Bakar, and Orixa, taking umbrage at the refuſal of certain duties, to which he had laid claim, being particularly incenſed at the Engliſh governor of Calcutta, for having granted protection to one of his ſubjects, whom he had outlawed; and, moreover, irritated by other practices of the company, which we cannot pretend to unfold, levied a numerous army, and marching to Calcutta, inveſted the place, which was then in no poſture of defence. The governor, intimidated by the number and power of the enemy, abandoned the fort; and the defence of the place devolved to Mr. Holwell the ſecond in command, who, with the aſſiſtance of a few gallant officers, and a very feeble garriſon, maintained it with uncommon courage and reſolution, againſt ſeveral attacks, until he was over-powered by numbers, and the enemy had forced their way into the caſtle. He was then obliged to ſubmit; and the ſuba, or viceroy, promiſed, on the word of a ſoldier, that no injury ſhould be done to him or his garriſon. Nevertheleſs, they were all driven, to the number of 146 perſons of both ſexes, into a place, called the Black-hole priſon, a cube of about 18 feet, walled up to the eaſtward and ſouthward, the only quarters from which they could expect the leaſt refreſhing air, and open to the weſtward by two windows ſtrongly barred with iron, through which there was no perceptible circulation.

The humane reader will conceive with horror the miſerable ſituation to which they muſt have been reduced, when thus ſtewed up in a cloſe ſultry night, under

under ſuch a climate as that of Bengal. In the morning, the ſuba being informed that the greater part of the priſoners were ſuffocated, enquired if the chief was alive; and being anſwered in the affirmative, ſent an order for their immediate releaſe, when no more than 23 ſurvived of 146 who had entered alive.

By the reduction of Calcutta, the Engliſh Eaſt India company's affairs were ſo much embroiled in that part of the world, that perhaps nothing could have retrieved them but the interpoſition of a national force and the good fortune of a Clive; whoſe enterprizes were always crowned with ſucceſs. In conſequence of the company's repreſentations to the government, a ſmall ſquadron of large ſhips was ſent to the Eaſt Indies, under the command of admiral Watſon; and in the courſe of this year arrived at Fort St. David's. The governor of that fortreſs having received intelligence, that Tullagee Angria, a piratical prince in the neighbourhood of Bombay, was on the eve of concluding a treaty with the nation of the Marahattas, which might prove prejudicial to the intereſts of the Engliſh company; a reſolution was taken to drive him from his reſidence at Geriah, which was well fortified, and formidable to all the trading ſhips of Europe. He maintained a conſiderable number of armed gallies, called Grabs, with which he often attacked the largeſt ſhips, when they happened to be becalmed on that part of the coaſt of Malabar. He was in the fourth generation from the firſt freebooter, who rendered himſelf independent, and lived like a ſovereign prince. The undertaking againſt Angria was originally concerted with the Marahattas, who likewiſe equipped an armament both by ſea and land againſt Geriah; but they acted entirely on their own ſcore: and in the reduction of the place gave no manner of aſſiſtance to the Engliſh.

Admiral Watſon ſailed from the coaſt of Coromandel to Bombay, where his ſquadron was cleaned and refitted; and having on board a body of troops commanded

manded by colonel Clive, he ſailed on the 7th day of February, and found in the neighbourhood of Geriah the Marahatta fleet, lying to the northward of the place, in a creek called Rajipore; and a land-army of horſe and foot, amounting to 7 or 8000 men, commanded by Rhamagee Punt, who had already taken one ſmall fort, and was actually treating about the ſurrender of Geriah. Angria himſelf had quitted the place; but his wife and family remained under the protection of his brother-in-law; who, being ſummoned to ſurrender by a meſſage from the admiral, replied, that he would defend the place to the laſt extremity. In conſequence of this refuſal, the whole Engliſh fleet, in two diviſions, ſailed into the harbour; and a ſhell being thrown into one of Angria's armed veſſels, ſet her on fire, and the flames communicating to the reſt, they were all deſtroyed: the fort was ſet on fire by another ſhell; and as the magazine of the fort afterward blew up, the governor was at length obliged to ſubmit. In this place, which was reduced with a very inconſiderable loſs, the conquerors found above 200 cannon, ſix braſs mortars, a large quantity of ammunition; with money and effects to the value of 130,000 pounds. The fleet which was deſtroyed, conſiſted of eight grabs, one ſhip finiſhed, two upon the ſtocks, and a good number of gallivats. Among the priſoners, the admiral found Angria's wife, children, and mother, toward whom he demeaned himſelf with great humanity.

The admiral and Mr. Clive ſailed back to Madraſs in triumph, and there another plan was formed for reſtoring the company's affairs upon the Ganges; for recovering Calcutta, and taking vengeance on the cruel viceroy of Bengal: all which was happily executed.

In the courſe of the year 1756, the clamorous voice of diſſatisfaction had been raiſed by a ſeries of diſappointments and miſcarriages, which were imputed to want of intelligence, ſagacity, and vigour in the adminiſtration;

tion: and the proſpect of their acquieſcing in a continental war brought them ſtill farther in contempt and deteſtation with the body of the people. In order to conciliate the good-will of thoſe whom their conduct had diſobliged, to acquire a freſh ſtock of credit with their fellow ſubjects, and remove from their own ſhoulders part of what future cenſure might enſue; they, in 1757, admitted into a ſhare of the adminiſtration a certain ſet of gentlemen, remarkable for their talents and popularity, headed by Mr. Pitt and Mr. Legge, the two moſt illuſtrious patriots of Great Britain, alike diſtinguiſhed and admired for their unconquerable ſpirit and untainted integrity. But the old junto found their new aſſociates very unfit for their purpoſes. They could neither perſuade, cajole, nor intimidate them into meaſures which they thought repugnant to the true intereſt of their country: they were accordingly ſoon after diſplaced.

What was intended as a diſgrace to Mr. Pitt and Mr. Legge, turned out one of the moſt ſhining circumſtances of their character. The whole nation ſeemed to riſe up, as one man, in the vindication of their fame; every mouth was opened in their praiſe; and a great number of reſpectable cities and corporations preſented them with the freedom of their reſpective ſocieties, incloſed in golden boxes, as teſtimonials of their peculiar veneration. Nothing could be more expreſſive of that reverence which ever waits on ſuperior virtue, than the manner in which the nation diſplayed its reſpect and affection for thoſe two fellow citizens; whoſe names will always be dear to Britain, while her ſons are warmed with the flame of honeſty and freedom.

A great number of addreſſes, dutifully and loyally expreſſed, ſollicited the king to reſtore Mr. Pitt and Mr. Legge to their former employments. Upon this they reſted the ſecurity and honour of the nation, as well as the public expectation of the ſpeedy and ſucceſsful iſſue of a war, hitherto attended with diſgraces and

and misfortunes. Accordingly his majeſty was graciouſly pleaſed to redeliver the ſeals to Mr. Pitt, appointing him ſecretary of ſtate for the ſouthern department, on the 29th day of June; and five days after, the office of chancellor of the exchequer was reſtored to Mr. Legge: promotions that afforded univerſal ſatisfaction.

The accumulated loſſes and diſappointments of the preceding year, made it abſolutely neceſſary to retrieve the credit of the Britiſh arms and councils, by ſome vigorous and ſpirited enterprize. A powerful fleet was ordered to be got in readineſs to put to ſea on the ſhorteſt notice, and ten regiments of foot were marched to the Iſle of Wight. The naval armament, conſiſting of 18 ſhips of the line, beſide frigates, fire-ſhips, bomb-ketches, and tranſports, was put under the command of Sir Edward Hawke, an officer, whoſe faithful ſervices recommended him, above all others, to this command. Sir John Mordaunt was preferred to take the command of the land-forces; and both ſtrictly enjoined to act with the utmoſt unanimity and harmony.

Europe beheld with aſtoniſhment theſe mighty preparations. The deſtination of the armament was wrapped in the moſt profound ſecrecy: it exerciſed the penetration of politicians, and filled France with very ſerious alarms. Various were the impediments which obſtructed the embarkation of the troops for ſeveral weeks, while they expreſſed an eager impatience to ſignalize themſelves againſt the enemies of the liberties of Europe: but the ſuperſtitious drew unfavourable preſages from the dilatorineſs of the embarkation.

At laſt the tranſports arrived, the troops were put on board with all expedition, and the fleet got under ſail on the 8th day of September, attended with the prayers of every man warmed with the love of his country, and ſolicitous for her honour. The public, big with expectation, dubious where the ſtroke would fall, but confident of its ſucceſs, were impatient for

tidings from the fleet; but it was not till the 14th, that even the troops on board began to conjecture that a deſcent was meditated on the coaſt of France near Rochfort, or Rochelle. But though ſome diſpoſitions were made toward a diſembarkation, no troops were landed, except on the little iſland of Aix, ſituated in the mouth of the river Charente, leading up to Rochfort. After a parade of deſtroying the fortifications here, this grand fleet returned to England. Such was the iſſue of an expedition that raiſed the expectation of all Europe, threw the coaſts of France into the utmoſt confuſion, and coſt the people of England little leſs than a million of money.

The fleet was no ſooner returned than the whole nation was in a ferment. Certain it was, that blame muſt fall ſomewhere, and the m——y reſolved to acquit themſelves, and fix the accuſation, by requeſting his majeſty to appoint a board of officers of character and ability to enquire into the cauſes of the late miſcarriage. This alone was what could appeaſe the public clamours, and afford general ſatisfaction. Sir John Mordaunt was alſo tried, by his own deſire, and acquitted.

Beſide the diverſion intended by a deſcent on the coaſt of France, ſeveral other methods were employed to amuſe the enemy, as well as to protect the trade of the kingdom, ſecure our colonies in the Weſt Indies, and inſure the continuance of the extraordinary ſucceſs which had lately bleſſed his majeſty's arms in the Eaſt Indies: but theſe we could not mention before, without breaking the thread of our narration.

In February, admiral Weſt ſailed with a ſquadron of men of war to the weſtward; as did admiral Coates with the fleet under his convoy to the Weſt Indies: and commodore Stevens with the trade to the Eaſt Indies, in the month of March. Admiral Holbourn, and commodore Holmes, with eleven ſhips of the line, a fireſhip, a bomb-ketch, and fifty tranſports, ſailed from St. Helen's for America in April. The admiral

admiral had on board 6200 effective men, exclusive of officers, under the command of general Hopson, assisted by lord Charles Hay. In May, admiral Osborne, forced back to Plymouth with his squadron by stress of weather, set sail to the Mediterranean; as did two ships of war sent to convoy the American trade.

In the mean time the privateers fitted out by private merchants, and societies, greatly annoyed the French commerce. The Antigallican, a private ship of war, equipped by a society of gentlemen who assumed that name, took the Duke de Penthievre Indiaman off the port of Corunna, and carried her into Cadiz. The prize was estimated worth 200,000 pounds; and immediate application was made by France to the court of Spain for restitution, as the French East India company asserted, it was taken within shot of a neutral port. The Penthievre was wrested out of the hands of the captors, detained as a deposit, with sealed hatches, and a Spanish guard on board, till the claims of both parties could be examined; and at last was adjudged to be an illegal capture, and restored to the French. Beside the success which attended a great number of other privateers, the lords of the admiralty published a list of above thirty ships of war and privateers taken from the enemy, in the space of four months, by the English sloops and men of war; exclusive of the Duke de Aquitaine Indiaman, now fitted out as a ship of war; the Pondicherry Indiaman, valued at 160,000 pounds; and above six privateers, which last were brought into port by the diligent and brave captain Lockhart, and for which he was honoured with a variety of presents of plate by several corporations. This turn of good fortune was not, however, without some retribution on the side of the enemy, who, out of 21 ships, homeward-bound from Carolina, made prize of 19; whence the merchants sustained considerable damage,

and a great quantity of valuable commodities, indigo in particular, was loſt to this country.

The operations at ſea, during the courſe of the year 1757, either in Europe or America, were far from being deciſive or important. The commerce of Great Britain ſuſtained conſiderable damage from the activity and ſucceſs of French privateers. The Greenwich ſhip of war of 50 guns, and a frigate of 20, fell into the hands of the enemy, together with a very conſiderable number of trading veſſels. On the other hand, the Engliſh cruiſers and privateers acquitted themſelves with equal vigilance and valour. The Duc d'Aquitaine, of 50 guns, was taken; the Aquilon, of nearly the ſame force, was driven on ſhore and deſtroyed. A French frigate, of 26 guns, called the Emeraude, was taken by a ſhip of inferior force under the command of captain Gilchriſt, a gallant officer. All the ſea-officers ſeemed to be animated with a noble emulation, to diſtinguiſh themſelves in the ſervice of their country; and the ſpirit deſcended even to the captains of privateers, who, inſtead of imitating the former commanders of that claſs, in avoiding ſhips of force, and centering their whole attention in advantageous prizes, now encountered the armed ſhips of the enemy, and fought with the moſt obſtinate valour in the purſuit of national glory.

Perhaps hiſtory cannot afford a more remarkable inſtance of deſperate courage, than that which was exerted in December of the preceding year, by the officers and crew of an Engliſh privateer, of 26 guns and 200 men, called the Terrible, under the command of captain William Death. He engaged, and made prize of, a large French ſhip from St. Domingo, with the loſs of his own brother and 16 ſeamen: he then directed his courſe to England; but in a few days he had the misfortune to fall in with the Vengeance, a privateer of St. Malo, carrying 36 large

cannon, with 360 men. Their firſt ſtep was to attack the prize, which was eaſily retaken; then the two ſhips bore down upon the Terrible, which maintained ſuch a furious engagement againſt both, as can hardly be paralleled in the annals of Britain. The French commander and his ſecond were killed, with two-thirds of his company; but the gallant captain Death, with the greater part of his officers, and almoſt his whole crew, having met with the ſame fate, his ſhip was boarded by the enemy, who found no more than 26 perſons alive, 16 of whom were mutilated by the loſs of legs or arms, and the other 10 grievouſly wounded. The ſhip itſelf was ſo ſhattered that it could ſcarcely be kept above water; and the whole exhibited a ſcene of blood, horror, and deſolation. The victor itſelf lay like a wreck on the ſurface; and in this condition made ſhift, with great difficulty, to tow the Terrible into St. Malo, where ſhe was not beheld without aſtoniſhment and terror. This adventure was no ſooner known in England, than a liberal ſubſcription was raiſed for the ſupport of Death's * widow, and that part of the crew which ſurvived the engagement.

In this, and every ſea-rencounter that happened within the preſent year, the ſuperiority in ſkill and reſolution, was aſcertained to the Britiſh mariners: for even when they fought againſt great odds, their courage was generally crowned with ſucceſs. In the month of November, captain Lockhart, a young gentleman, who had already rendered himſelf a terror to the enemy, as commander of a ſmall frigate, now added conſiderably to his reputation, by reducing the Melampe, a French privateer of Bayonne, greatly ſuperior to his ſhip, in men and metal; and

* There was a ſtrange combination of names belonging to this privateer: the *Terrible*, equipped at *Execution-Dock*, commanded by captain *Death*, whoſe lieutenant was called *Devil*, and he had one *Ghoſt* for his ſurgeon. It may be added, that it was taken by the *Vengeance*.

alſo another French adventurer, called the Counteſs of Gramont. A third large privateer of Bayonne was taken by captain Saumarez, of the Antelope. In a word, the narrow ſeas were ſo well guarded, that in a little time ſcarce a French ſhip durſt appear in the Engliſh channel, which the Britiſh traders navigated without moleſtation. The Britiſh cruiſers kept the ſea during all the ſeverity of the winter, in order to protect the commerce of the kingdom, and annoy that of the enemy. They exerted themſelves with ſuch activity, and their vigilance was attended with ſuch ſucceſs, that the trade of France was almoſt totally extinguiſhed. A very gallant exploit was atchieved by one captain Bray, commander of the Adventurer, a ſmall armed veſſel in the government's ſervice: falling in with the Machault, a large privateer of Dunkirk, near Dungeneſs, he ran her aboard, faſtened her boltſprit to his capſtan, and after a warm engagement, compelled her commander to ſubmit. A French frigate, of 36 guns, was taken by captain Parker, in a new fireſhip of inferior force. Divers privateers of the enemy were ſunk, burned, or taken; and a great number of merchant-ſhips fell into the hands of the Engliſh.

Nor was the ſucceſs of the Britiſh ſhips of war confined to the Engliſh channel. An action happened off the iſland of Hiſpaniola, between three Engliſh ſhips of war and a French ſquadron. Captain Forreſt had, in the ſhip Auguſta, ſailed from Port Royal in Jamaica, accompanied by the Dreadnought and Edinburgh, under the command of the captains Suckling and Langdon, to cruize off Cape François: and this ſervice he literally performed, in the face of a French ſquadron lately arrived at that place from the coaſt of Africa. The commander, piqued at ſeeing himſelf thus inſulted by an inferior armament, reſolved to come forth and give them battle; and that he might either take them, or at leaſt drive them out of theſe ſeas, ſo as to afford a free paſſage to a great

great number of merchant-ſhips then lying at the Cape, bound for Europe; he took every precaution which he thought neceſſary to inſure ſucceſs. He weighed anchor and ſtood out to ſea, having under his command four large ſhips of the line, and three ſtout frigates. They were no ſooner perceived advancing, than capain Forreſt held a ſhort council with his two captains. "Gentlemen, (ſaid he) you know our own ſtrength, and ſee that of the enemy: ſhall we give them battle?" They replying in the affirmative, he added, "Then fight them we will; there is no time to be loſt: return to your ſhips, and get them ready for engaging." After this laconic conſultation among theſe three gallant officers, they bore down upon the French ſquadron without further heſitation, and between three and four in the afternoon the action began with great impetuoſity. The enemy exerted themſelves with uncommon ſpirit, conſcious that their honour was peculiarly at ſtake, and that they fought in ſight, as it were, of their own coaſt, which was lined with people expecting to ſee them return in triumph. But notwithſtanding all their endeavours, their commodore, after having ſuſtained a ſevere engagement that laſted two hours and a half, found his ſhip in ſuch a ſhattered condition, that he made ſignal for one of his frigates to come and tow him out of the line. His example was followed by the reſt of his ſquadron, which, with the favour of the land-breeze and the approach of night, made ſhift to accompliſh their eſcape from the three Britiſh ſhips, that were too much diſabled in their maſts and rigging to proſecute their victory. They were ſo much damaged, that, being unable to keep the ſea, they returned to Jamaica; and the French commodore ſeized the opportunity of ſailing with a convoy for Europe.

The courage of captain Forreſt was not more conſpicuous in his engagement with the French ſquadron near Cape François, than his conduct and ſagacity in

a ſubſequent adventure near Port au Prince, a French harbour, ſituated at the bottom of a bay on the weſtern part of Hiſpaniola. After Mr. de Kerſin had taken his departure from Cape François for Europe, captain Forreſt was commanded by admiral Cotes to cruize off the iſland of Gonave for two days only, enjoining him to return at the expiration of the time, and rejoin the ſquadron at Cape Nicholas. Accordingly, captain Forreſt, in the Auguſta, proceeded up the bay, between the iſland Gonave and Hiſpaniola, with a view to execute a plan which he had himſelf projected. Next day in the afternoon, though he perceived two ſloops, he forbore chaſing, that he might not riſque a diſcovery: for the ſame purpoſe he hoiſted Dutch colours, and diſguiſed his ſhip with tarpaulins. At five in the afternoon, he diſcovered ſeven ſail of ſhips ſteering to the weſtward, and hauled from them to avoid ſuſpicion; but at the approach of night gave chace with all the ſail he could carry. About ten, he perceived two ſail, one of which fired a gun, and the other made the beſt of her way for Leoganne, another harbour in the bay. At this period, captain Forreſt reckoned eight ſail to leeward, near another fort called Petit Goave: coming up with the ſhip which had fired the gun, ſhe ſubmitted without oppoſition, after he had hailed and told her captain what he was, produced two of his largeſt cannon, and threatened to ſink her if ſhe ſhould give the leaſt alarm. He forthwith ſhifted the priſoners from this prize, and placed on board of her 35 of his own crew, with orders to ſtand for Petit Goave, and intercept any of the fleet that might attempt to reach that harbour. Then he made ſail after the reſt, and in the dawn of the morning, finding himſelf in the middle of their fleet, he began to fire at them all in their turns, as he could bring his guns to bear: they returned the fire for ſome time; at length three of them ſtruck their colours. Theſe, being ſecured, were afterward uſed in taking the other five. Thus,

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by a well-conducted ſtratagem, a whole fleet of nine ſail were taken by a ſingle ſhip in the neighbourhood of four or five harbours, in any one of which they would have found immediate ſhelter and ſecurity.

The miniſtry having determined, in 1758, to make vigorous efforts againſt the enemy in North America, admiral Boſcawen was veſted with the command of the fleet deſtined for that ſervice, and ſailed from St. Helen's on February, when the Invincible of 74 guns, one of his beſt ſhips, run aground and periſhed.

In the courſe of the ſucceeding month, Sir Edward Hawke ſteered into the bay of Biſcay with another ſquadron, in order to intercept any ſupplies from France deſigned for Cape-Breton or Canada; and about the ſame time, the town of Emden, belonging to his Pruſſian majeſty, which had fallen into the hands of the enemy, was ſuddenly retrieved by the conduct of commodore Holmes, ſtationed on that coaſt. Admiral Oſborne, while he cruiſed between Cape de Gatt and Carthagena, on the coaſt of Spain, fell in with a French ſquadron, commanded by the marquis du Queſne, conſiſting of four ſhips; namely, the Foudroyant of 80 guns, the Orphée of 64, the Oriflamme of 50, and the Pleiade frigate of 24, in their paſſage from Toulon to reinforce M. de la Clue, who had for ſome time been blocked up by admiral Oſborne in the harbour of Carthagena. The enemy no ſooner perceived the Engliſh ſquadron than they diſperſed, and ſteered different courſes: Mr. Oſborne detached divers ſhips in purſuit of each, while he himſelf, with the body of his fleet, ſtood off for the bay of Carthagena, to watch the motions of the French ſquadron which there lay at anchor. About ſeven in the evening, the Orphée ſtruck to captain Storr in the Revenge. The Monmouth of 64 guns, commanded by captain Gardener, engaged the Foudroyant, one of the largeſt ſhips in the French navy, under the command of the marquis du Queſne. The

action was maintained with great fury on both ſides, and the gallant captain Gardener loſt his life: nevertheleſs the fight was continued with unabating vigour by his lieutenant Mr. Carkett, and the Foudroyant diſabled in ſuch a manner, that her commander ſtruck as ſoon as the other Engliſh ſhips, the Swiftſure and the Hampton-court, appeared. This mortifying ſtep, however, he did not take until he ſaw his ſhip lie like a wreck upon the water, and the decks covered with carnage. The Oriflamme was driven on ſhore under the caſtle of Aiglos, by the ſhips Montague and Monarque, commanded by the captains Rowley and Montague, who could not compleat their deſtruction without violating the neutrality of Spain. As for the Pleiade frigate, ſhe made her eſcape.

This was a ſevere ſtroke upon the enemy, who not only loſt two of their capital ſhips, but ſaw them added to the navy of Great Britain; and the diſaſter was cloſe followed by another, which they could not help feeling with equal ſenſibility of mortification and chagrin. In the beginning of April, Sir Edward Hawke diſcovered off the iſle of Aix a French fleet at anchor, conſiſting of five ſhips of the line, with ſix frigates, and forty tranſports, having on board 3000 troops, and a large quantity of ſtores and proviſion, intended as a ſupply for their ſettlements in North America. They no ſooner ſaw the Engliſh admiral advancing, than they began to ſlip their cables and fly in the utmoſt confuſion. Some of them eſcaped to ſea, but the greater number ran into ſhoal water, where they could not be purſued; and next morning they appeared aground, lying on their broadſides. Sir Edward Hawke, who had rode all that night at anchor abreaſt of the iſle of Aix, furniſhed the ſhips Intrepid and Medway, with truſty pilots, and ſent them farther in when the flood began to make, with orders to ſound a-head, that he might know whether there was any poſſibility of attacking the enemy; but the want of a ſufficient depth of

water

water rendered this ſcheme impracticable. In the mean time, the French threw overboard their cannon, ſtores, and ballaſt; and the boats and launches from Rochefort, were employed in carrying out warps to drag their ſhips through the ſoft mud, as ſoon as they ſhould be waterborne by the flowing tide. By theſe means, their large ſhips of war, and many of their tranſports, eſcaped into the river Charente; but their loading was loſt, and the end of their equipment totally defeated. Another convoy of merchant-ſhips, under the protection of three frigates, Sir Edward Hawke, a few days before, had chaced into the harbour of St. Martin's, on the iſle of Rhé, where they ſtill remained, waiting an opportunity for hazarding a ſecond departure: a third, conſiſting of twelve ſail, bound from Bourdeaux to Quebec, under convoy of a frigate and armed veſſel, was encountered at ſea by one Britiſh ſhip of the line and two fireſhips, which took the frigate and armed veſſel; and two of the convoy afterward met with the ſame fate: but this advantage was over-balanced by the loſs of captain James Hume, commander of the Pluto fireſhip, a brave accompliſhed officer, in an unequal combat with the enemy: and by the unfortunate burning of admiral Broderick's ſhip, the Prince George of 80 guns, which happened in his paſſage to the Mediterranean.

On the 29th day of May, the Raiſonable, a French ſhip of the line, mounted with 64 cannon, having on board 630 men, commanded by the prince de Mombazon chevalier de Rohan, was, in her paſſage from Port l'Orient to Breſt, attacked by captain Dennis in the Dorſetſhire of 70 guns; and taken after an obſtinate engagement, in which 160 men of the prince's complement were killed or wounded, and he ſuſtained great damage in his hull, ſails and rigging.

The king of Great Britain, being determined to renew his attempt upon the coaſt of France, ordered a formidable armament to be equipped for that purpoſe.

poſe. Two powerful ſquadrons by ſea were deſtined for the ſervices of this expedition: the firſt, conſiſting of eleven great ſhips, was commanded by Lord Anſon and Sir Edward Hawke; the other, compoſed of four ſhips of the line, ſeven frigates, ſix ſloops, two fireſhips, two bombs, ten cutters, twenty tenders, ten ſtore-ſhips, and one hundred tranſports, under the direction of commodore Howe. A body of troops, conſiſting of ſixteen regiments, nine troops of light-horſe, and ſix thouſand marines, was aſſembled for the execution of this deſign, and embarked under the command of the duke of Marlborough, aſſiſted by lord George Sackville. The troops, having for ſome time been encamped upon the Iſle of Wight, were embarked in the latter end of May, and the two fleets ſailed in the beginning of June for the coaſt of Bretagne, leaving the people of England fluſhed with the gayeſt hopes of victory and conqueſt.

The two fleets parted at ſea: lord Anſon with his ſquadron proceeded to the bay of Biſcay, in order to watch the motions of the enemy's ſhips, and harraſs their navigation; while commodore Howe, with the land forces, ſteered directly toward St. Malo, on the coaſt of Bretagne, againſt which the purpoſed invaſion ſeemed to be chiefly intended. The town, however, was found too well fortified to admit of any attempt with proſpect of ſucceſs; and therefore it was reſolved to make a deſcent in the neighbourhood. After the fleet had been, by contrary winds, detained ſeveral days in ſight of the French coaſt, it arrived in the bay of Cancalle, about two leagues to the eaſtward of St. Malo; where the troops were landed without much oppoſition. The duke of Marlborough immediately began his march toward St. Servan, with a view to deſtroy ſuch ſhipping and magazines as might be in any acceſſible parts of the river; and this ſcheme was executed with ſucceſs. A great quantity of naval ſtores, two ſhips of war, ſeveral privateers, and about fourſcore veſſels of different ſorts, were ſet on fire, and reduced to aſhes, almoſt under

under the cannon of the place; which, however, they could not pretend to beſiege in form. His grace, having received repeated advices that the enemy were buſily employed in aſſembling forces to march againſt him, returned to Cancalle; where Mr. Howe had made ſuch a maſterly diſpoſition of the boats and tranſports, that the reimbarkation of the troops was performed with ſurpriſing eaſe and expedition.

The Britiſh forces being reimbarked, the fleet was detained by contrary winds in the bay of Cancalle for ſeveral days; during which a deſign ſeems to have been formed for attacking Granville, and afterward for landing at Havre de Grace, and at Cherbourg: neither of which took effect, from the tempeſtuouſneſs of the weather. The fleet therefore ſteered for the Iſle of Wight, and anchored at St. Helen's.

Such was the iſſue of an enterprize atchieved with conſiderable ſucceſs, if we conſider the damage done to the enemy's ſhipping, and the other objects which the miniſtry had in view; namely, to ſecure the navigation of the channel, and make a diverſion in favour of our German allies, by alarming the French king, and obliging him to employ a great number of troops to defend his coaſt from inſult and invaſion: but whether ſuch a mighty armament was neceſſary for the accompliſhment of theſe petty aims, is left to the reader's own reflection.

The deſigns upon the coaſt of France, though interrupted by tempeſtuous weather, were not as yet laid aſide for the whole ſeaſon: but, in the mean time, the troops were diſembarked on the Iſle of Wight. The duke of Marlborough and lord George Sackville being appointed to conduct this Britiſh corps upon the continent, the command of the marine expeditions devolved to lieutenant-general Bligh, an old experienced officer, who had ſerved with reputation; and his royal highneſs prince Edward, afterward created Duke of York, entered as a volunteer with

with commodore Howe, in order to learn the rudiments of the ſea-ſervice.

Every thing being prepared for the ſecond expedition, the fleet ſailed from St. Helen's on the firſt of Auguſt; and after a tedious paſſage, anchored on the 7th in the bay of Cherbourg. Here, though they met with oppoſition, the troops made good their landing, two miles from the town; the French retired, and the Engliſh forces marching to Cherbourg, found it abandoned; and the gates being open, entered it without oppoſition. The next morning, the place being reconnoitred, the general determined to deſtroy, without delay, all the forts and the baſon; and the execution of this deſign was left to the engineers, aſſiſted by the officers of the fleet and artillery. Great ſums of money had been expended upon the harbour and baſon of Cherbourg, which at one time was conſidered by the French court as an object of great importance, from its ſituation reſpecting the river Seine, as well as the oppoſite coaſt of England; but as the works were left unfiniſhed, in all appearance the plan had grown into diſreputation. While the engineers were employed in demoliſhing the works, the light horſe ſcoured the country. About twenty pieces of braſs cannon were ſecured on board the Engliſh ſhips; a contribution was exacted upon the town; and a plan of reimbarkation concerted: as it appeared from the reports of peaſants and deſerters, that the enemy, who encamped about four leagues off, were already increaſed to a formidable number. The forces marched from Cherbourg down to the beach, and reimbarked without the leaſt diſturbance from the enemy.

This ſervice being happily performed, the fleet anchored in the bay of St. Lunaire, two leagues to the weſtward of St. Malo, againſt which it was determined to make another attempt. The troops landed on a fair open beach, and a detachment of grenadiers was ſent to the harbour of St. Briac, above the

town

town of St. Malo, where they deſtroyed above 15 ſmall veſſels. But St. Malo being properly ſurveyed, appeared to be above inſult, either from the land-forces or the ſhipping. The deſign againſt St. Malo was therefore dropped; but the general being unwilling to reimbark without having taken ſome ſtep for the further annoyance of the enemy, reſolved to penetrate into the country; conducting his motions, however, ſo as to be near the fleet, which had, by this time, quitted the bay of St. Lunaire, where it could not ride with any ſafety, and anchored in the bay of St. Cas, about three leagues to the weſtward.

General Bligh, with his little army, marched to Guildo, at the diſtance of nine miles, which he reached in the evening. Next morning he proceeded to the village of Matignon, where, after ſome ſmart ſkirmiſhing, the French piquets appeared, drawn up in order, to the number of two battalions; but having ſuſtained a few ſhot from the Engliſh field-pieces, and ſeeing the grenadiers advance, they ſuddenly diſperſed. General Bligh continuing his route through the village, encamped in the open ground about three miles from the bay of St. Cas, which was this day reconnoitred for reimbarkation: for he now received undoubted intelligence, that the duke d'Aiguillon had advanced from Breſt to Lambale, within ſix miles of the Engliſh camp, at the head of twelve regular battalions, ſix ſquadrons, two regiments of militia, eight mortars, and ten pieces of cannon. The bay of St. Cas was covered by an intrenchment which the enemy had thrown up, to prevent or oppoſe any diſembarkation; and on the outſide of this work, there was a range of ſand-hills extending along ſhore, which could have ſerved as a cover to the enemy, from whence they might have annoyed the troops in reimbarking: for this reaſon, a propoſal was made to the general, that the forces ſhould be reimbarked from a fair open beach on the left, between

tween St. Cas and Guildo; but this advice was rejected; and, indeed, the ſubſequent operations of the army ſavoured ſtrongly of blind ſecurity and raſh preſumption.

Had the troops decamped in the night without noiſe, in all probability they would have arrived at the beach before the French had received the leaſt intelligence of their motion: but inſtead of this cautious manner of proceeding, the drums were beaten at two o'clock in the morning, as if with intention to give notice to the enemy, who forthwith repeated the ſame ſignal. The troops were in motion before three, and though the length of the march did not exceed three miles, the halts and interruptions were ſo numerous and frequent, that they did not arrive on the beach of St. Cas till nine. Then the embarkation was begun, and might have been happily finiſhed, had the tranſports lain near the ſhore, and received the men as faſt as the boats could have conveyed them on board without diſtinction; but many ſhips rode at a conſiderable diſtance, and every boat carried the men on board the reſpective tranſports to which they belonged; a punctilio of diſpoſition, by which a great deal of time was unneceſſarily conſumed.

The Britiſh forces had ſkirmiſhed a little on the march, but no conſiderable body of the enemy appeared until the embarkation was begun; then they took poſſeſſion of an eminence by a wind-mill, and forthwith opened a battery of ten cannon and eight mortars, from whence they fired with conſiderable effect upon the ſoldiers on the beach, and on the boats in their paſſage. Many ſwam toward the boats and veſſels, which were ordered to give them all manner of aſſiſtance; but by far the greater number were either butchered on the beach, or drowned in the water. About 1000 choſen men of the Engliſh army were killed and taken priſoners on this occaſion: nor was the advantage cheaply purchaſed by the

the French troops, among whom the ſhot and ſhells from the frigates and ketches had done great execution.

The whole ſtrength of Great Britain, during the campaign of 1758, was not exhauſted in petty deſcents on the coaſt of France. The continent of America was the great theatre on which her chief vigour was diſplayed; nor did ſhe fail to exert herſelf in ſucceſsful efforts againſt the French ſettlements on the coaſt of Africa: there, a ſmall ſquadron without much trouble, took poſſeſſion of Fort Louis and the town of Senegal. But the attempt on Goree miſcarried; though the failure was not attended with any great loſs. This ſettlement was however taken afterward by a ſmall ſquadron under commodore Keppel, after a warm but ſhort diſpute.

Scenes of ſtill greater importance were acted in North America, where, excluſive of the fleet and marines, the government had aſſembled about 50,000 men, including 22,000 regular troops. About 12,000 of theſe were deſtined to undertake the ſiege of Louiſbourg, on the iſland of Cape Breton. The reduction of Louiſbourg, being on object of immediate conſideration, was undertaken with all poſſible diſpatch. Major-general Amherſt, being joined by admiral Boſcawen, with the fleet and forces from England, the whole armament, conſiſting of 157 ſail, took their departure from the harbour of Halifax, in Nova Scotia; and on the 2d of June part of the tranſports anchored in the bay of Gabarus, about 7 miles to the weſtward of Louiſbourg. The garriſon of this place, commanded by the chevalier Drucour, conſiſted of 2500 regular troops, 300 militia, formed of the burghers; and toward the end of the ſiege, they were reinforced by 350 Canadians, including 60 Indians. The harbour was ſecured by ſix ſhips of the line, and five frigates, three of which the enemy ſunk acroſs the harbour's mouth, in order to render it inacceſſible to the Engliſh ſhipping. The gover-

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nor had taken all the precautions in his power to prevent a landing, by eſtabliſhing a chain of poſts along the moſt acceſſible parts of the beach: but there were ſome intermediate places which could not be properly ſecured, and in one of theſe the Engliſh troops were diſembarked; on which occaſion brigadier Wolfe diſtinguiſhed himſelf greatly.

The landing was not effected, however, without an obſtinate oppoſition: and the ſtores, with the artillery, being brought on ſhore, the town of Louiſbourg was formally inveſted. The difficulty of landing ſtores and implements in boiſterous weather, and the nature of the ground, which, being marſhy, was unfit for the conveyance of heavy cannon, retarded the operations of the ſiege; and Mr. Amherſt made his approaches with great circumſpection. A very ſevere fire, well directed, was maintained againſt the beſiegers and their work, from the town, the iſland battery, and the ſhips in the harbour; and divers ſallies were made, though without much effect. Beſide the regular approaches to the town, conducted by the engineers, under the immediate command and inſpection of general Amherſt, divers batteries were raiſed by the detached corps under brigadier Wolfe, who exerted himſelf with amazing activity. The three great ſhips, the Entreprenant, Capricieux, and Celebre, were ſet on fire by the bomb-ſhells, and burned to aſhes; ſo that none remained but the Prudent and Bienfaiſant, which the admiral undertook to deſtroy. For this purpoſe, the boats of the ſquadron were detached into the harbour in the night time, through a terrible fire. The Prudent, being aground, was ſet on fire, and deſtroyed; but the Bienfaiſant was towed out of the harbour in triumph.

In the proſecution of the ſiege, the admiral and general co-operated with remarkable harmony: the fire of the town was alſo managed with equal ſkill and activity, and kept up with great perſeverance; until, at length, their ſhipping being all taken or deſtroyed,

deſtroyed, and divers practicable breaches effected, the governor was conſtrained to ſubmit.

Thus, at the expence of about 400 men killed or wounded, the Engliſh obtained poſſeſſion of the important iſland of Cape Breton, and the ſtrong town of Louiſbourg; in which the victors found 221 pieces of cannon, 18 mortars, and a conſiderable quantity of ſtores and ammunition. The loſs of Louiſbourg was the more ſeverely felt by the French king, as it had been attended with the deſtruction of ſo many conſiderable ſhips.

In the Eaſt Indies the tranſactions of the war were chequered with a variety of ſucceſs; but, on the whole, the deſigns of the enemy were entirely defeated. The French king had ſent a conſiderable reinforcement to the Eaſt Indies, under the command of general Lally, with ſuch a number of ſhips as rendered the ſquadron of Mr. d'Apché ſuperior to that of admiral Pocock; who ſucceeded after the death of admiral Watſon, to the command of the Engliſh ſquadron, ſtationed on the coaſt of Coromandel; which, in the beginning of this year, was reinforced from England with ſeveral ſhips, under the direction of commodore Stevens. Immediately after this junction, admiral Pocock, who had already ſignalized himſelf by his courage and conduct, ſailed to intercept the French ſquadron, of which he had received intelligence. In two days he deſcried in the road of Fort St. David the enemy's fleet, conſiſting of nine ſhips; which immediately ſtood out to ſea, and formed the line of battle a-head. The admiral took the ſame precaution, and, bearing down upon Mr. d'Apché, the engagement began about three in the afternoon. The French commodore, having ſuſtained a warm action for about four hours, bore away with his whole fleet; and being joined by two ſhips, formed a line of battle again to leeward. Admiral Pocock's own ſhip, and ſome others, being greatly damaged in their maſts and rigging, two of his cap-

tains having miſbehaved in the action, and night coming on, he did not think it adviſeable to purſue them cloſely; nevertheleſs, he followed them at a proper diſtance, and maintained the weather gage, in caſe he ſhould be able to renew the action in the morning. However, in the morning, not the leaſt veſtige of them appeared. Such was the iſſue of the firſt action between the Engliſh and French ſquadrons in the Eaſt Indies, which, over and above the loſs of a capital ſhip, diſabled and run aſhore, is ſaid to have coſt the enemy about 500 men, whereas the Britiſh admiral did not loſe one fifth part of that number.

In the mean time, Mr. Lally had diſembarked his troops at Pondicherry, and, taking the field, immediately inveſted the fort of St. David, while the ſquadron blocked it up by ſea; two Engliſh ſhips being at anchor in the road when the enemy arrived, their captains, ſeeing no poſſibility of eſcaping, ran them on ſhore, ſet them on fire, and retired with their men into the fortreſs, which, however, was in a few days ſurrendered. Admiral Pocock having, to the beſt of his power, repaired his ſhips, ſet ſail again, in order to attempt the relief of Fort St. David's; but notwithſtanding his utmoſt endeavours, could not reach it in time to be of any ſervice. On the 30th day of May he came in ſight of Pondicherry, from whence the French ſquadron ſtood away early next morning; nor was it in his power to come up with them, though he made all poſſible efforts for that purpoſe. He ſailed a third time in queſt of Mr. Apché, and in two days perceived his ſquadron, conſiſting of eight ſhips of the line and a frigate, at anchor in the road of Pondicherry. They no ſooner deſcried him advancing, than they ſtood out to ſea as before, and he continued to chace, in hope of bringing them to an engagement; but all his endeavours proved fruitleſs, till the 3d day of Auguſt, when, having obtained the weather-gage, he bore down upon them in order of battle. The engagement began

gan with great impetuoſity on both ſides, but in little more than ten minutes Mr. d'Apché ſet his foreſail and bore away, his whole ſquadron following his example, and maintaining a running fight in a very irregular line. The Britiſh admiral then hoiſted the ſignal for a general chace, which the enemy perceiving, thought proper to cut away their boats, and croud with all the ſail they could carry. They eſcaped by favour of the night into the road of Pondicherry, and Mr. Pocock anchored with his ſquadron off Carical, a French ſettlement; having thus obtained an undiſputed victory, with the loſs of 30 men killed. The French fleet was ſo much damaged, that their commodore ſailed for the iſland of Bourbon, in the ſame latitude with Madagaſcar, in order to refit; thus leaving the command and ſovereignty of the Indian ſeas to the Engliſh admiral.

Previous to the more capital operations by ſea, we ſhall ſpecify the moſt remarkable captures that were made upon the enemy by ſingle ſhips of war, during the courſe of the ſummer and autumn, 1759. A French privateer, belonging to Granville, called the Marquis de Marigny, of 20 guns and 200 men, was taken by captain Parker, of the Montague; who likewiſe made prize of a ſmaller armed veſſel, from Dunkirk, of 8 cannon and 60 men. About the ſame period, captain Graves, of the Unicorn, brought in the Moras privateer of St. Malo, of 22 guns and 200 men. Two large merchant-ſhips, loaded on the French king's account, for Martinique, with ſtores for the troops on that iſland, were taken by captain Lendrick, of the Brilliant. Captain Hood, of the Veſtal, belonging to a ſmall ſquadron commanded by admiral Holmes, who had ſailed for the Weſt Indies in January, being advanced a conſiderable way a-head of the fleet, deſcried and gave chace to the Bellona, of 32 guns and 220 men. Captain Hood, having made a ſignal to the admiral, continued the chace until he advanced within half muſket-ſhot of the

enemy, and then poured in a broadſide, which was immediately retorted. The engagement was maintained with great vigour on both ſides, for the ſpace of four hours; at the expiration of which, the Bellona ſtruck, after having loſt all her maſts and rigging, with about 40 men killed in the action: nor was the victor in a much better condition. The Bellona had ſailed in January from the iſland of Martinique, along with the Floriſſant, and another French frigate, from which ſhe had been ſeparated in the paſſage.

Immediately after this exploit, captain Elliot, of the Æolus frigate, accompanied by the Iſis, made prize of French ſhip, the Mignonne, of 20 guns and 140 men; one of four frigates employed as a convoy to a large fleet of merchant-ſhips, near the iſland of Rhée.

In the month of March, the Engliſh frigates the Southampton and Melampe, commanded by the captains Gilchriſt and Hotham, being at ſea to the northward on a cruiſe, fell in with the Danae, of 40 cannon, and 330 men, which was engaged by captain Hotham in a ſhip of half the force, who maintained the battle a conſiderable time with admirable gallantry, before his conſort could come to his aſſiſtance. As they fought in the dark, captain Gilchriſt was obliged to lie by for ſome time, becauſe he could not diſtinguiſh the one from the other; but no ſooner did the day appear than he bore down upon the Danae, and ſoon compelled her to ſurrender.

Another remarkable exploit was about the ſame juncture atchieved by captain Barrington, of the Achilles, of 60 cannon, who, to the weſtward of Cape Finiſterre, encountered a French ſhip of equal force, called the Count de St. Florentin; who was obliged to ſtrike after a cloſe and obſtinate engagement. Captain Falkner, in the Windſor, of 60 guns, cruiſing to the weſtward, diſcovered four large ſhips to leeward; which formed the line of battle a-head, in

in order to give him a warm reception. He closed with the sternmost ship, which sustained his fire about an hour: then the other three bearing away, she struck her colours, and was conducted to Lisbon. She proved to be the Duc de Chartres, pierced for 60 cannon, though at that time carrying no more than 24, with 300 men. She belonged, with the other three that escaped, to the French East India company, was loaded with gunpowder and naval stores, and bound for Pondicherry.

In the month of May, a French frigate, called the Arethusa, of 32 guns, and well manned, submitted to two British frigates, the Venus and the Thames, commanded by the captains Harrison and Colby.

Several armed ships of the enemy, and rich prizes, were taken in the West Indies; particularly two French frigates, and two Dutch ships with French commodities, all richly laden, by some of the ships of the squadron which vice-admiral Cotes commanded in the Jamaica station. But notwithstanding the vigilance and courage of the English cruizers in those seas, the French privateers swarmed to such a degree, that, in the course of this year, they took above 200 sail of British ships, valued at 600,000 pounds sterling. This their success is the more remarkable, as by this time the island of Guadalupe was in possession of the English, and commodore Moore commanded a numerous squadron in those very latitudes.

Having taken notice of some remarkable captures that were made by single ships, we shall now proceed to describe the actions that were performed in this period by the different squadrons of Great Britain. Intelligence having been received, that the enemy meditated an invasion upon some of the British territories, and that a number of flat-bottomed boats were prepared at Havre de Grace, for the purpose of disembarking troops; rear-admiral Rodney was detached with a small squadron of ships and bombs, to

overawe that part of the coaſt of France. He accordingly anchored in the road of Havre, and made a diſpoſition to execute the inſtructions he had received. The bomb veſſels being placed in the narrow channel of the river leading to Honfleur, began to throw their ſhells, and continued the bombardment for 52 hours, without intermiſſion; during which, a numerous body of French troops was employed in throwing up entrenchments, erecting new batteries, and firing both ſhot and ſhells upon the aſſailants. The town was ſet on fire in ſeveral places, and burned with great fury; ſome of the boats were overturned, and a few of them reduced to aſhes, while the inhabitants forſook the place in the utmoſt conſternation: nevertheleſs, the damage done to the enemy was too inconſiderable to make amends for the expence of the armament, and the loſs of 1900 ſhells and 1100 carcaſſes, which were expended on this expedition. Bombardments of this kind are at beſt but expenſive and unprofitable operations, and may be deemed a barbarous method of proſecuting war; inaſmuch as the damage falls rather upon the innocent inhabitants, than on the government.

The honour of the Britiſh flag was much more effectually aſſerted by the gallant admiral Boſcawen, who was entruſted with the conduct of a ſquadron in the Mediterranean. It muſt be owned, however, that his firſt attempt ſavoured of temerity. Having in vain diſplayed the Britiſh flag in ſight of Toulon, by way of defiance to the French fleet that there lay at anchor; he ordered three ſhips of the line, commanded by the captains Smith, Harland, and Barker, to advance and burn two ſhips that lay cloſe to the mouth of the harbour. They accordingly approached with great intrepidity, and met with a very warm reception from divers batteries which they had not before perceived: ſo that they were towed off with great difficulty, in a very ſhattered condition. The admiral ſeeing three of his beſt ſhips ſo roughly handled

handled in this enterprize, returned to Gibraltar in order to refit; and M. de la Clue, commander of the ſquadron at Toulon, ſeized this opportunity of ſailing, in hope of paſſing the Streights mouth unobſerved; his fleet conſiſting of 12 large ſhips and 3 frigates. Admiral Boſcawen, who commanded 14 ſail of the line, with 2 frigates, and as many fireſhips, having refitted his ſquadron, detached 2 frigates to keep a good look-out, and give timely notice in caſe the enemy ſhould approach. On the 17th of Auguſt, in the evening, the Gibraltar frigate made a ſignal that 14 ſail appeared on the Barbary ſhore. Upon which the Engliſh admiral immediately went to ſea: at day-light he deſcried ſeven large ſhips lying to; but when the Engliſh ſquadron did not anſwer their ſignal, they diſcovered their miſtake, ſet all their ſails, and made the beſt of their way. Even now perhaps he might have eſcaped, had he not been obliged to wait for the Souveraine, which was a heavy ſailer. At noon the wind, which had blown a freſh gale, died away; and it was ſome time before his headmoſt ſhips could cloſe with the rear of the enemy; which, though greatly out-numbered, fought with uncommon bravery. The Engliſh admiral, without waiting to return the fire of the ſternmoſt, uſed all his endeavours to come with the Ocean, which Mr. de la Clue commanded in perſon; and about four o'clock in the afternoon, running athwart her hawſe, poured into her a furious broadſide: thus the engagement began with equal vigour on both ſides. This diſpute, however, was of ſhort duration; in about half an hour admiral Boſcawen's mizen-maſt and topſail-yards were ſhot away; and the enemy hoiſted all the ſail they could carry. Mr. Boſcawen, having ſhifted his flag from the Namur to the Newark, joined ſome other ſhips in attacking the Centaur of 74 guns, which, being thus overpowered, was obliged to ſurrender. The Britiſh admiral purſued them all night, during which the Souveraine

and Guerrier altered their courſe, and deſerted their commander. At day-break, Mr. de la Clue, whoſe left leg had been broke in the engagement, perceived the Engliſh ſquadron crowding all their ſails to come up with him, and finding himſelf on the coaſt of Portugal, determined to burn his ſhips rather than they ſhould fall into the hands of the victors. The Ocean was run aſhore two leagues from Lagos, near the fort of Almadana, the commander of which fired three ſhots at the Engliſh: another captain of the French ſquadron followed the example of his commander; and both endeavoured to diſembark their men: but the ſea being rough, this proved a very tedious and difficult attempt. The captains of the Temeraire and Modeſte, inſtead of deſtroying their ſhips, anchored as near as they could to the forts Exavier and Lagres, in hope of enjoying their protection; but in this hope they were diſappointed. Mr. de la Clue had been landed, and the command of the Ocean was left to the count de Carne; who having received one broadſide from the America, ſtruck his colours, and the Engliſh took poſſeſſion of this noble prize, the beſt ſhip in the French navy, mounted with 80 cannon. Captain Bentley of the Warſpight, who had remarkably ſignalized himſelf by his courage during the action of the preceding day, attacked the Temeraire of 74 guns, and brought her off with little damage. Vice-admiral Broderick, the ſecond in command, advancing with his diviſion, burned the Redoubtable of 74 guns, which was bulged and abandoned by her men and officers; but they made prize of the Modeſte, carrying 64 guns, which had not been much injured in the engagement. This victory was obtained by the Engliſh admiral at a very ſmall expence of men; the whole number of the killed and wounded not exceeding 250 on board of the Britiſh ſquadron; though the carnage among the enemy muſt have been much more conſiderable: but the moſt ſevere circumſtance of this diſaſter was the

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loſs of four capital ſhips, two of which were deſtroyed, and the other two brought in triumph to England, to be numbered among the beſt bottoms of the Britiſh navy. What augmented the good fortune of the victors, was, that not one officer loſt his life in the engagement.

The court of Verſailles, in order to embarraſs the Britiſh miniſtry, and divert their attention from all external expeditions, had, in the winter, projected a plan for invading ſome part of the Britiſh dominions; and, in the beginning of the year, had actually begun to make preparations on different parts of their coaſt, for carrying this deſign into execution. Every precautionary ſtep was, however, taken to fruſtrate their intentions; but the adminiſtration wiſely placed their chief dependence upon the ſtrength of the navy; part of which was ſo divided and ſtationed, as to block up all the harbours of France, in which the enemy were known to make any naval armament of conſequence. Notwithſtanding the diſaſter of Mr. de la Clue, the French miniſtry perſiſted in their deſign: toward the execution of which, they had prepared another conſiderable fleet, at the harbours of Rochfort, Breſt, and Port-Louis, to be commanded by Mr. de Conflans, and reinforced by a conſiderable body of troops. Flat-bottomed boats, and tranſports to be uſed in this expedition, were prepared in different ports on the coaſt of France; and a ſmall ſquadron was equipped at Dunkirk, under the command of an enterpriſing adventurer called Thurot, who had, in the courſe of the preceding year, ſignalized his courage and conduct in a large privateer called the Belleiſle.

This man's name became a terror to the merchants of Great Britain; for his valour was not more remarkable in battle than his conduct in eluding the purſuit of the Britiſh cruiſers, who were ſucceſſively detached in queſt of him. The court of Verſailles was not inſenſible to his merit. He obtained a commiſſion

miſſion from the French king, and was veſted with the command of the ſmall armament now fitting out in the harbour of Dunkirk.

The Britiſh government, appriſed of all theſe particulars, took ſuch meaſures to defeat the propoſed invaſion, as muſt have conveyed a very high idea of the power of Great Britain to thoſe who conſidered, that, excluſive of the force oppoſed to this deſign, they at the ſame time carried on the moſt vigorous and important operations of war in Germany, America, the Eaſt and Weſt Indies. Thurot's armament at Dunkirk was watched by an Engliſh ſquadron in the Downs, commanded by commodore Boys; the port of Havre was guarded by rear-admiral Rodney; Mr. Boſcawen had been ſtationed off Toulon; and the coaſt of Vannes was ſcoured by a ſmall ſquadron detached from Sir Edward Hawke, who had, during the whole ſummer, blocked up the harbour of Breſt, where Conflans lay with his fleet, in order to be joined by the other diviſions of the armament. Theſe different ſquadrons of the Britiſh navy were connected by a chain of ſeparate cruiſers; ſo that the whole coaſt of France, from Dunkirk to the extremity of Bretagne, were diſtreſſed by an actual blockade.

The French miniſtry being thus hampered, forbore their attempt upon Britain; and the projected invaſion ſeemed to hang in ſuſpence, till the month of Auguſt, in the beginning of which their army in Germany was defeated at Minden. Their deſigns in that country being baffled by this diſaſter, they ſeemed to convert their chief attention to their ſea-armament; the preparations were reſumed with redoubled vigour: even after the defeat of La Clue, they reſolved to try their fortune in a deſcent upon Ireland: and the young pretender remained in the neighbourhood of Vannes incognito, in order once more to hazard his perſon, and countenance a revolt in the dominions of Great Britain.

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The execution of this ſcheme was, however, prevented by the vigilance of Sir Edward Hawke, who blocked up the harbour of Breſt, with a fleet of 23 capital ſhips; while another ſquadron of ſmaller ſhips and frigates, under the command of captain Duff, continued to cruiſe along the French coaſt from Port L'Orient in Bretagne to the point of St. Gilles in Poitou. At length, however, in the beginning of November, the Britiſh ſquadron were driven from the coaſt of France by ſtreſs of weather, and on the 9th day of the month anchored in Torbay. Admiral Conflans ſnatched this opportunity of ſailing from Breſt, with 21 ſail of the line and 4 frigates, in hope of being able to deſtroy the Engliſh ſquadron commanded by captain Duff, before the larger fleet could return from the coaſt of England. Sir Edward Hawke, having received intelligence that the French fleet had ſailed from Breſt, immediately ſtood to ſea, in order to purſue them; and, in the mean time, the government iſſued orders for guarding all thoſe parts of the coaſt that were thought the moſt expoſed to a deſcent.

While theſe meaſures were taken with equal vigour and deliberation, Sir Edward Hawke ſteered his courſe directly for Quiberon, on the coaſt of Bretagne, which he ſuppoſed would be the rendezvous of the French ſquadron. On the 20th of November, he fell in with them, as they were giving chace to captain Duff's ſquadron, which now joined the large fleet, after having run ſome riſque of being taken. Sir Edward Hawke, who had formed the line a-breaſt, now perceiving that the French admiral endeavoured to eſcape, threw out a ſignal for ſeven of his ſhips that were neareſt the enemy to chace, and endeavour to detain them, until they could be reinforced by the reſt of the ſquadron. Conſidering the roughneſs of the weather, the nature of the coaſt, which is in this place very hazardous, and entirely unknown to the Britiſh ſailors, it required extraordinary reſolution in

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the Engliſh admiral to attempt hoſtilities on this occaſion. With reſpect to his ſhips of the line, he had but the advantage of one in point of number, and no ſuperiority in men or metal; conſequently Mr. de Conflans might have hazarded a fair battle in the open ſea, without any imputation of temerity: but he thought proper to play a more artful game, and retired cloſe in ſhore, with a view to draw the Engliſh ſquadron among the ſhoals and iſlands, while he and his officers, who were perfectly acquainted with the navigation, could either ſtay, and take advantage of their diſaſter, or, if hard preſſed, retire through channels unknown to the Britiſh pilots.

At half an hour after two, the van of the Engliſh fleet began the engagement with the rear of the enemy, in the neighbourhood of Belleiſle. Every ſhip as ſhe advanced poured in a broadſide on the ſternmoſt of the French, and bore down upon their van, leaving the rear to thoſe that came after. Sir Edward Hawke, in the Royal George of 110 guns, reſerved his fire in paſſing through the rear of the enemy, and ordered his maſter to bring him along-ſide of the French admiral, who commanded in perſon on board of the Soleil Royal, of 80 guns and 1200 men. When the pilot remonſtrated that he could not obey his command, without the moſt imminent riſque of running upon a ſhoal, the brave veteran replied, "You have done your duty in ſhewing the danger; now you are to comply with my order, and lay me along-ſide the Soleil Royal." His wiſh was gratified: the Royal George ranged up with the French admiral. The Theſée, another large ſhip of the enemy, running up between the two commanders, ſuſtained the fire reſerved for the Soleil Royal; but in returning the firſt broadſide foundered, in conſequence of the high ſea that entered her lower deck-ports, and filled her with water. Notwithſtanding the boiſterous weather, a good number of ſhips on both ſides fought with equal fury and dubious ſucceſs, till about four

four in the afternoon, when the Formidable ſtruck her colours. The Superbe ſhared the fate of the Theſée in going to the bottom. The Heros hauled down her colours in token of ſubmiſſion, and dropped anchor; but the wind was ſo high, that no boat could be ſent to take poſſeſſion. By this time day-light began to fail, and the greater part of the French fleet eſcaped under colour of the darkneſs.

Night approaching, the wind blowing with augmented violence on a lee-ſhore, and the Britiſh ſquadron being intangled among unknown ſhoals and iſlands, Sir Edward Hawke made the ſignal for anchoring to the weſtward of the ſmall iſland Dumet; and here the fleet remained all night in a very dangerous riding, alarmed by the fury of the ſtorm, and inceſſant firing of guns of diſtreſs, without their knowing whether it proceeded from friend or enemy. The Soleil Royal had, under favour of the night, anchored alſo in the midſt of the Britiſh ſquadron; but at day-break, Mr. de Conflans ordered her cable to be cut, and ſhe drove aſhore to the weſtward of Crozie. The Engliſh admiral immediately made ſignal to the Eſſex to ſlip her cable and purſue her; but in obeying this order, ſhe ran unfortunately on a ſand-bank, called Lefour, where the Reſolution, another ſhip of the Engliſh ſquadron, was already grounded. Here they were both irrecoverably loſt, in ſpite of all the aſſiſtance that could be given: but all their men, and part of their ſtores, were ſaved, and the wrecks burnt. He likewiſe detached the Portland, Chatham, and Vengeance, to deſtroy the Soleil Royal, which was burned by her own people, before the Engliſh ſhips could approach; but they arrived time enough to reduce the Heros to aſhes on Lefour, where ſhe had been alſo ſtranded: and the Juſte, another of their great ſhips, periſhed in the mouth of the Loire.

The admiral perceiving ſeven large ſhips of the enemy riding at anchor between Point Penvas and the

the mouth of the river Vilaine, made the ſignal to weigh, in order to attack them; but the fury of the ſtorm increaſed to ſuch a degree, that he was obliged to remain at anchor, and even ordered the top-gallant-maſts to be ſtruck.

In the mean time, the French ſhips being lightened of their cannon, their officers took advantage of the flood, and a more moderate gale under the land, to enter the Vilaine; where they lay within half a mile of the entrance, protected by ſome occaſional batteries erected on the ſhore, and by two large frigates, moored acroſs the mouth of the harbour. Thus they were effectually ſecured from any attempts of ſmall veſſels; and as for large ſhips, there was not water ſufficient to float them within fighting diſtance of the enemy.

On the whole, this battle, in which a very inconſiderable number of lives were loſt, may be conſidered as one of the moſt perilous and important actions that ever happened in any war between the two nations: for it not only defeated the projected invaſion, which had hung menacing ſo long over the apprehenſions of Great Britain; but it gave the finiſhing blow to the naval power of France, which was totally diſabled from undertaking any thing of conſequence in the ſequel.

By this time, indeed, Thurot had eſcaped from Dunkirk, and directed his courſe to the North Sea, whither he was followed by commodore Boys, who nevertheleſs was diſappointed in his purſuit; but the fate of that adventurer falls under the occurrences of the enſuing year.

As for Sir Edward Hawke, he continued cruiſing off the coaſt of Bretagne for a conſiderable time after the victory he had obtained, taking particular care to block up the mouth of the river Vilaine, that the ſeven French ſhips might not eſcape, and join Mr. Conflans, who made ſhift to reach Rochfort with the ſhattered remains of his ſquadron. Indeed, this ſervice

vice became ſuch a conſiderable object in the eyes of the Britiſh miniſtry, that a large fleet was maintained upon this coaſt, apparently for no other purpoſe, during a whole year; and, after all, the enemy eluded their vigilance.

A plan had been formed for improving the ſucceſs of the preceding year in North America, by carrying the Britiſh arms up the river St. Laurence, and beſieging Quebec, the capital of Canada. The armament employed againſt the French iſlands of Martinique and Guadalupe, conſtituted part of this deſign; inaſmuch as the troops embarked on that expedition were, in caſe of a miſcarriage at Martinique, intended to reinforce the Britiſh army in North America, which was juſtly conſidered as the chief ſeat of the war. Martinique was reduced to great diſtreſs by the ruin of its trade, and by want of all, even neceſſary proviſions, when the inhabitants every day expected a viſit from the Britiſh armament, whoſe progreſs we are now to relate. In November of the preceding year, captain Hugh's ſailed from St. Helen's, with eight ſail of the line, one frigate, four bomb-ketches, and a fleet of tranſports, containing land forces, under the command of major-general Hopſon. At Barbadoes they joined commodore Moore, who now aſſumed the command of the united ſquadrons, amounting to ten ſhips of the line, beſide frigates and bomb-ketches.

After an unſucceſsful attempt on Martinique, the failure of which it is not eaſy to account for, the whole armament directed their courſe to Guadalupe, another of the French Carribbee iſlands, lying 30 leagues to the weſtward. Having arrived at Baſſeterre, a council of war was held on board the commodore's ſhip; where it was reſolved to make a general attack by ſea, upon the citadel, the town, and other batteries by which it was defended. A diſpoſition being made for this purpoſe, the large ſhips took their

their reſpective ſtations next morning, being the 23d of January.

In this preſent attack, all the ſea commanders behaved with extraordinary ſpirit and reſolution, particularly the captains Leſlie, Burnet, Gayton, Jekyl, Trelawney, and Shuldam; who, in the hotteſt tumult of the action, diſtinguiſhed themſelves equally by their courage, impetuoſity, and deliberation. The four bombs being anchored near the ſhore, began to ply the town with ſhells and carcaſſes; ſo that in a little time the houſes were in flames, the magazines of gunpowder blew up with the moſt terrible exploſion, and about ten o'clock the whole place blazed out one general conflagration.

Next day at two in the afternoon, the fleet come to an anchor in the road of Baſſeterre, where they found the hulls of divers ſhips which the enemy had ſet on fire at their approach: ſeveral ſhips turned out and endeavoured to eſcape, but were intercepted and taken by the Engliſh ſquadron. At five, the troops landed without oppoſition, and took poſſeſſion of the town and citadel, which they found entirely abandoned. They learned from a Genoeſe deſerter, that the regular troops of the iſland conſiſted of five companies only, the number of the whole not exceeding 100 men; and that they had laid a train to blow up the powder-magazine in the citadel: but had been obliged to retreat with ſuch precipitation, as did not permit them to execute this deſign. The train was immediately cut off, and the magazine ſecured. The nails with which they had ſpiked up their cannon were drilled out by the matroſſes; and in the mean time, the Britiſh colours were hoiſted on the parapet. Part of the troops took poſſeſſion of an advantageous poſt on an eminence, and part entered the town, which ſtill continued burning with great violence.

In the morning, at day-break, the enemy appeared, to the number of 2000, about four miles from the

the town, and began to throw up intrenchments in the neighbourhood of a houſe where the governor had fixed his head-quarters, declaring he would maintain his ground to the laſt extremity. In the mean time, the reduction of the iſlanders on the ſide of Guadalupe appearing more and more impracticable, the general reſolved to transfer the ſeat of war to the eaſtern and more fertile part of the iſland, called Grand-Terre; which, as we have already obſerved, was defended by a ſtrong battery, called Fort Louis. In purſuance of this determination, the great ſhips were ſent round to Grand-terre, in order to reduce this fortification, which they accordingly effected on the 13th of February. After a ſevere cannonading, which laſted ſix hours, a body of marines being landed, with the highlanders, they drove the enemy from their intrenchments ſword in hand, and, taking poſſeſſion of the fort, hoiſted the Engliſh colours.

In a few days after this exploit, general Hopſon dying at Baſſe-terre, the chief command devolved to general Barrington, who reſolved to proſecute the final reduction of the iſland with vigour and diſpatch.

In the mean time, commodore Moore having received certain intelligence that Monſ. de Bompart had arrived at Martinique with a ſquadron, conſiſting of eight ſail of the line and three frigates, having on board a whole battalion of Swiſs, and ſome other troops, to reinforce the garriſons of the iſlands; he called in his cruiſers, and ſailed immediately to the bay of Dominique, an iſland to the windward, at the diſtance of nine leagues from Guadalupe; whence he could always ſail to oppoſe any deſigns which the French commander might form againſt the operations of the Britiſh armaments.

Without entering into a detail of the proceedings of the land-forces, toward a reduction of the internal parts of the iſland, which was a work of ſome time; it is ſufficient to obſerve, that the inhabitants capitulated on May 1ſt, 1759, at the very time that

a conſiderable reinforcement from Martinique had landed on another part of the iſland; which on knowlege of this event, returned directly.

The town of Baſſe-terre being reduced to a heap of aſhes, the inhabitants began to clear away the rubbiſh, and erected occaſional ſheds, where they reſumed their ſeveral occupations with that good humour ſo peculiar to the French nation; and general Barrington humanely indulged them with all the aſſiſtance in his power.

Immediately after the capitulation of Guadalupe, he ſummoned the iſlands called Santos and Deſeada to ſurrender; and they, together with Petit-terre, ſubmitted on the ſame terms which he had granted to the great iſland: but his propoſal was rejected by the inhabitants of Marigalante, which lies about three leagues to the ſouth-eaſt of Grand-terre, extending 20 miles in length, 15 in breadth, flat and fertile, but poorly watered, and ill-fortified. The general, reſolving to reduce it by force, embarked a body of troops on board of tranſports, which ſailed thither under convoy of three ſhips of war and two bomb veſſels from prince Rupert's Bay; and at their appearance the iſlanders ſubmitting, received an Engliſh garriſon.

Three regiments were allotted as a ſufficient guard for the whole iſland, and the other three were embarked for England. General Barrington himſelf went on board the Roebuck in the latter end of June, and with the tranſports, under convoy of captain Hughes, and a ſmall ſquadron, ſet ſail for Great Britain; while commodore Moore, with his large fleet, directed his courſe to Antigua.

The reduction of Niagara, and the poſſeſſion of Crown-point, were exploits much more eaſily atchieved than the conqueſt of Quebec, the great object to which all theſe operations were ſubordinate. Of that we now come to give the detail, fraught with ſingular events; in the courſe of which a noble ſpirit

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of enterprize was diſplayed. It was about the middle of February that a conſiderable ſquadron ſailed from England for Cape Breton, under the command of the admirals Saunders and Holmes: but the harbour was blocked up with ice in ſuch a manner, that they were obliged to bear away for Halifax in Nova Scotia. From hence admiral Saunders arrived at Louiſbourg; and the troops being embarked, to the number of 8000, proceeded up the river without further delay. The operations at land were intruſted to the conduct of major-general James Wolfe, whoſe talents had ſhone with ſuch ſuperior luſtre at the ſiege of Louiſbourg; and his ſubordinates in command were the brigadiers Monckton, Townſhend, and Murray.

The armament intended for Quebec ſailed up the river St. Laurence, without having met with any interruption, or having perceived any of thoſe difficulties and perils with which it had been reported that the navigation of it was attended. Their good fortune in this particular, indeed, was owing to ſome excellent charts of the river, which had been found in veſſels taken from the enemy. About the latter end of June the land-forces were diſembarked in two diviſions upon the iſle of Orleans, ſituated a little below Quebec. General Wolfe no ſooner landed on the iſland of Orleans than he diſtributed a manifeſto among the French coloniſts, explaining the nature of the undertaking; that the hoſtilities were intended againſt the ſettlements and forces of the king of France, but not againſt the innocent inhabitants; aſſuring them of his protection while they gave him no diſturbance, which he ſhewed them muſt be ineffectual, and would only expoſe them to his reſentment. This declaration produced no immediate effect; nor, indeed, did the Canadians depend upon the ſincerity and promiſed faith of a nation, whom their prieſts had induſtriouſly repreſented as the moſt ſavage and cruel enemy on earth. Poſſeſſed of thoſe notions, which prevailed even among the better ſort, they choſe to

abandon their habitations, and expoſe themſelves and families to certain ruin, in provoking the Engliſh by the moſt cruel hoſtilities, rather than to be quiet, and confide in the general's promiſe of protection: ſo that Mr. Wolfe, in order to intimidate the enemy into a ceſſation of theſe outrages, found it neceſſary to connive at ſome irregularities in the way of retaliation.

Mr. de Montcalm, who commanded the French troops, though ſuperior in number to the invaders, very wiſely reſolved to depend upon the natural ſtrength of the country, which appeared almoſt inſurmountable, and had carefully taken all his precautions of defence. The city of Quebec was ſkilfully fortified, ſecured with a numerous garriſon, and plentifully ſupplied with proviſion and ammunition. Montcalm had reinforced the troops of the colony, and had taken the field, in a very advantageous ſituation, encamped along the ſhore of Beaufort, from the river St. Charles to the falls of Montmorenci; every acceſſible part being deeply intrenched. To undertake the ſiege of Quebec againſt ſuch odds and advantages, was not only a deviation from the eſtabliſhed maxims of war, but ſeemingly a raſh enterprize: Mr. Wolfe was well acquainted with the difficulties of the undertaking; but he knew at the ſame time he ſhould always have it in his power to retreat, in caſe of emergency, while the Britiſh ſquadron maintained its ſtation in the river; and he was not without hope of being joined by general Amherſt. Underſtanding that there was a body of the enemy poſted, with cannon, at the Point of Levi, on the ſouth ſhore, oppoſite to the city of Quebec, he detached againſt them brigadier Monckton, at the head of four battalions, who paſſed the river at night; and next morning, having ſkirmiſhed with ſome of the enemy's irregulars, obliged them to retire from that poſt, which the Engliſh immediately occupied. At the ſame time colonel Carlton, with another detachment,

tachment, took poſſeſſion of the weſtern point of the iſland of Orleans; and both theſe poſts were fortified, in order to anticipate the enemy, who, had they kept poſſeſſion of either, might have rendered it impoſſible for any ſhip to lie at anchor within two miles of Quebec. Beſide, the Point of Levi was within cannon-ſhot of the city, againſt which a battery of mortars and artillery was immediately erected. Montcalm, foreſeeing the effect of this expedient, detached a body of ſixteen hundred men acroſs the river, to attack and deſtroy the works before they were completed: but this detachment fell into diſorder, fired upon each other, and retired in confuſion. The battery being finiſhed, without further interruption, the cannon and mortars began to play with ſuch ſucceſs, that in a little time the upper town was conſiderably damaged, and the lower town reduced to a heap of rubbiſh.

In the mean time the fleet was expoſed to the moſt imminent danger. Immediately after the troops had been landed on the iſland of Orleans, the wind increaſed to a furious ſtorm, which blew with ſuch violence, that many tranſports ran foul of one another, and were diſabled; a number of boats and ſmall craft foundered, and divers large ſhips loſt their anchors. The enemy reſolving to take advantage of the confuſion which they imagined this diſaſter muſt have produced, prepared ſeven fireſhips, and at midnight ſent them down from Quebec among the tranſports, which lay ſo thick as to cover the whole ſurface of the river. The ſcheme, though well contrived, and ſeaſonably executed, was entirely defeated by the deliberation of the Britiſh admiral, and the dexterity of his marines, who reſolutely boarded the fireſhips, and towed them faſt a-ground; where they lay burning to the water's edge, without having done the leaſt prejudice to the Engliſh ſquadron. On the very ſame day of the ſucceeding month, they ſent

down a raft of fireſhips, or radeaus, which were likewiſe conſumed, without producing any effect.

The works for the ſecurity of the hoſpital, and the ſtores on the iſland of Orleans, being finiſhed, the Britiſh forces croſſed the north channel in boats, and landing under the cover of two ſloops, encamped on the ſide of the river Montmorenci, which divided them from the left of the enemy; and next morning a company of rangers, poſted in a wood to cover ſome workmen, were attacked by the French Indians, and totally defeated: however, the neareſt troops advancing, repulſed the Indians in their turn with conſiderable loſs. On the 18th day of July, the admiral, at general Wolfe's requeſt, ſent two ſhips of war, two armed ſloops, and ſome tranſports, having troops on board, up the river; and they paſſed the city of Quebec, without having ſuſtained any damage. The general, being on board of this little armament, carefully obſerved the banks on the ſide of the enemy, which were extreamly difficult from the nature of the ground; and theſe difficulties were redoubled by the foreſight and precaution of the French commander. Though a deſcent ſeemed impracticable between the city and Cape Rouge, where it was intended, general Wolfe, in order to divide the enemy's force, and procure intelligence, ordered a detachment, under the command of colonel Carlton, to land higher up at the Point Au Tremble; to which place he was informed, a good number of the inhabitants of Quebec had retired with their moſt valuable effects. This ſervice was performed with little loſs, and ſome priſoners were brought away; but no magazine was diſcovered.

The general, thus diſappointed in his expectation, returned to Montmorenci, where brigadier Townſhend had, by maintaining a ſuperior fire acroſs that river, prevented the enemy from erecting a battery, which would have commanded the Engliſh camp: and now he reſolved to attack them, though poſted

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to great advantage, and every where prepared to give him a warm reception. His deſign was, firſt to reduce a detached redoubt cloſe to the water's edge; ſeemingly ſituated without gun-ſhot of the intrenchment on the hill. Should this fortification be ſupported by the enemy, he foreſaw that he ſhould be able to bring on a general engagement: on the contrary, ſhould they remain tame ſpectators of its reduction, he could afterward examine their ſituation at leiſure, and determine the place at which they could be moſt eaſily attacked. Preparations were accordingly made for ſtorming the redoubt: which was undertaken with great bravery, but the fire of the French was ſo hotly maintained, that the Engliſh were for that time obliged to give up the conteſt. Had the attack ſucceeded, the loſs of the Engliſh muſt have been very heavy, and that of the French inconſiderable; becauſe the neighbouring woods afforded them immediate ſhelter: finally, the river St. Charles ſtill remained to be paſſed, before the town could be inveſted.

Immediately after this mortifying check, in which above five hundred men, and many brave officers were loſt, the general detached brigadier Murray, with twelve hundred men, in tranſports above the town, to co-operate with rear-admiral Holmes, whom the admiral had ſent up with ſome force againſt the French ſhipping, which he hoped to deſtroy. The brigadier was likewiſe inſtructed to ſeize every opportunity of fighting the enemy's detachments, and even of provoking them to battle. In purſuance of theſe directions, he twice attempted to land on the north ſhore; but theſe attempts were unſucceſsful: the third effort was more fortunate; he made a ſudden deſcent at Chambaud, and burned a conſiderable magazine, filled with arms, cloathing, proviſion, and ammunition.

The diſaſter at the falls of Montmorenci made a deep impreſſion on the mind of general Wolfe; he

knew the character of the Engliſh people, raſh, impatient, and capricious; elevated to exultation by the leaſt gleam of ſucceſs, dejected even to deſpondency by the moſt inconſiderable frown of adverſe fortune. Among thoſe who ſhared his confidence, he was often ſeen to ſigh, he was often heard to complain, and even in the tranſports of his chagrin, declare, that he would never return without ſucceſs, to be expoſed, as other unfortunate commanders had been, to the cenſure and reproach of an ignorant populace. This tumult of the mind, added to the fatigues of body he had undergone, produced a fever and dyſentery; by which, for ſome time, he was totally diſabled.

When we conſider the ſituation of this place, and the fortifications with which it was ſecured; the natural ſtrength of the country; the great number of veſſels and floating batteries they had provided for the defence of the river; the ſkill, valour, ſuperior force, and uncommon vigilance of the enemy; their numerous bodies of ſavages continually hovering about the poſts of the Engliſh, to ſurprize parties and harraſs detachments; we muſt own that there was ſuch a combination of difficulties, as might have diſcouraged and perplexed the moſt reſolute and intelligent commander.

As no poſſibility appeared of annoying the enemy above the town, the ſcheme of operations was totally changed. The three brigadiers formed, and preſented a plan for conveying the troops farther down in boats, and landing them in the night within a league of Cape Diamond, in hope of aſcending the heights of Abraham, which riſe abruptly, with a ſteep aſcent from the banks of the river; that they might take poſſeſſion of the ground on the back of the city, where it was but indifferently fortified. The dangers and difficulties attending the execution of this deſign were ſo peculiarly diſcouraging, that one would imagine it could not have been embraced but by a ſpirit

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of enterprize that bordered on deſperation. The ſtream was rapid; the ſhore ſhelving; the bank of the river lined with centinels; the landing place ſo narrow as to be eaſily miſſed in the dark; and the ground ſo difficult as hardly to be ſurmounted in the day-time, had no oppoſition been expected.

The previous ſteps being taken, and the time fixed for this hazardous attempt, admiral Holmes moved with his ſquadron farther up the river, about three leagues above the place appointed for the diſembarkation; that he might deceive the enemy, and amuſe Mr. de Bougainville, whom Montcalm had detached with 1500 men to watch the motions of that ſquadron: but the Engliſh admiral was directed to ſail down the river in the night, ſo as to protect the landing of the forces; and theſe orders he punctually fulfilled. On the 12th of September, an hour after midnight, the firſt embarkation, conſiſting of four compleat regiments, the light infantry, commanded by colonel Howe, a detachment of Highlanders, and the American grenadiers, was made in flat-bottomed boats, under the immediate command of the brigadiers Monckton and Murray. Without any diſorder the boats glided gently along; but, by the rapidity of the tide, and darkneſs of the night, they overſhot the mark, and the troops landed a little below the place at which the diſembarkation was intended.

How far the ſucceſs of this attempt depended upon accident, may be conceived from the following particulars.—In the twilight two French deſerters were carried on board a ſhip of war, commanded by captain Smith, and laying at anchor near the North ſhore. They told him, that the garriſon of Quebec expected that night to receive a convoy of proviſions, ſent down the river in boats, from the detachment above, commanded by Mr. de Bougainville. Theſe deſerters ſtanding upon deck, and perceiving the Engliſh boats, with the troops, gliding down the river in the dark, began to ſhout, and make a noiſe; declaring

claring they were part of the expected convoy. Captain Smith, who was ignorant of general Wolfe's design, believing their affirmation, had actually given orders to point the guns at the British troops; when the general perceiving a commotion on board, rowed along-side in person, and prevented the discharge, which would have alarmed the town, and entirely frustrated the attempt.

The French had posted sentinels along-shore, to challenge boats and vessels, and give the alarm occasionally. The first boat that contained the English troops, being questioned accordingly, a captain of Fraser's regiment, who had served in Holland, and who was perfectly well acquainted with the French language and customs, answered, without hesitation, to *Qui vit?* which is their challenging word, *la France:* nor was he at a loss to answer the second question, which was much more particular and difficult. When the sentinel demanded *a quel regiment?* of what regiment? the captain replied, *de la Reine*, which he knew, by accident, to be one of those that composed the body commanded by Bougainville. The soldier took it for granted, this was the expected convoy; and saying *passe*, allowed all the boats to proceed without further question. In the same manner the other sentinels were deceived; though one more wary than the rest, came running down to the water's edge, and called, *pourquoy est que vous ne parlez plus haut?* "Why don't you speak aloud?" To this interrogation, which implied doubt, the captain answered with admirable presence of mind, in a soft tone of voice, *Tai toi, nous serons entendues!* "Hush! we shall be overheard and discovered." Thus cautioned, the sentinel retired without farther altercation. The midshipman who piloted the first boat, passing by the landing-place in the dark, the same captain, who knew from his having been posted formerly with his company on the other side of the river, insisted upon the pilot's being mistaken, and commanded the rowers

rowers to put aſhore in the proper place, or at leaſt very near it.

As the troops landed, the boats were ſent back for the ſecond embarkation, which was ſuperintended by brigadier Townſhend. In the mean time colonel Howe, with the light infantry and the Highlanders, aſcended the woody precipices with admirable courage and activity; and diſlodged a captain's guard, which defended a ſmall intrenched narrow path, by which alone the reſt of the forces could reach the ſummit. Then they mounted, without further moleſtation from the enemy, and the general drew them up in order, as they arrived. Monſieur de Montcalm no ſooner underſtood that the Engliſh had gained the heights of Abraham, which in a manner commanded the town on its weakeſt part, than he reſolved to hazard a battle, and began his march without delay; after having collected his whole force from the ſide of Beauport.

General Wolfe, perceiving the enemy croſſing the river St. Charles, began to form his own line; the French had lined the buſhes and corn-fields in their front with 1500 of their beſt markſmen, who kept up an irregular galling fire, which proved fatal to many brave officers, thus ſingled out for deſtruction. This fire, indeed, was in ſome meaſure checked by the advanced poſts of the Britiſh line; who piqueered with the enemy for ſome hours before the battle began. Both armies were deſtitute of artillery, except two ſmall pieces on the ſide of the French, and a ſingle gun, which the Engliſh ſeamen had made ſhift to draw up from the landing-place. This was very well ſerved, and galled their column ſeverely. General Wolfe was ſtationed on the right, at the head of Bragg's regiment, and the Louiſbourg grenadiers, where the attack was moſt warm. As he ſtood conſpicuous in the front of the line, he had been aimed at by the enemy's markſmen; and received a ſhot in the wriſt, which, however, did not oblige him to quit

quit the field. Having wrapped a handkerchief round his hand, he continued giving orders without the leaſt emotion; and advanced at the head of the grenadiers, with their bayonets fixed, when another ball unfortunately pierced the breaſt of this young hero, who fell in the arms of victory, juſt as the enemy gave way! For, at this very inſtant, every ſeparate regiment of the Britiſh army ſeemed to exert itſelf for the honour of its own peculiar character. General Wolfe being ſlain, and, at the ſame time, Mr. Monckton dangerouſly wounded at the head of Laſcelles's regiment, where he diſtinguiſhed himſelf with remarkable gallantry, the command devolved to brigadier Townſhend, who haſtened to the centre; and finding the troops diſordered in the purſuit, formed them again with all poſſible expedition. This neceſſary taſk was ſcarce performed, when M. de Bougainville, with a body of 2000 freſh men, appeared in the rear of the Engliſh. He had begun his march from Cape Rouge, as ſoon as he received intelligence that the Britiſh troops had gained the heights of Abraham; but did not come up in time to have any ſhare in the battle.

Mr. Townſhend immediately ordered two battalions, with two pieces of artillery, to advance againſt this officer, who retired, at their approach. The French general Mr. de Montcalm was mortally wounded in the battle, and conveyed into Quebec; from whence, before he died, he wrote a letter to general Townſhend, recommending the priſoners to that generous humanity by which the Britiſh nation is diſtinguiſhed. His ſecond in command was left wounded on the field, and next day expired on board an Engliſh ſhip, to which he had been conveyed. About one thouſand of the enemy were made priſoners, including a great number of officers; and about five hundred were ſlain on the field of battle. The wreck of their army, after they had reinforced

the garriſon of Quebec, retired to Trois Rivieres and Montreal.

This important victory was obtained at the expence of fifty men killed, including nine officers; and of about 500 men wounded; but the death of general Wolfe was a national loſs, and univerſally lamented.

Immediately after the battle of Quebec, admiral Saunders ſent up all the boats of the fleet, with artillery and ammunition; and ſailed up, with all the ſhips of war, in a diſpoſition to attack the lower town; while the upper part ſhould be aſſaulted by general Townſhend. But on the 17th of September, before any battery could be finiſhed, a flag of truce was ſent from the town, with propoſals of capitulation; which, being maturely conſidered by the general and admiral, were accepted and ſigned at eight next morning.

They granted the more favourable terms, as the enemy continued to aſſemble in the rear of the Britiſh army; as the ſeaſon was become wet, ſtormy, and cold; threatening the troops with ſickneſs, and the fleet with accident; and as a conſiderable advantage would reſult from taking poſſeſſion of the town while the walls were in a ſtate of defence.

The capitulation was no ſooner ratified, than the Britiſh forces took poſſeſſion of Quebec, and guards were poſted in different parts of the town, to preſerve order and diſcipline. The death of Montcalm, which was indeed an irreparable loſs to France, in all probability, overwhelmed the enemy with conſternation; and confounded all their councils: otherwiſe we cannot account for the tame ſurrender of Quebec to a handful of troops, even after the victory they had obtained: for the ſeaſon was ſo far advanced, that the Britiſh forces in a little time muſt have been forced to deſiſt, by the ſeverity of the weather, and even retire with their fleet before the approach of winter, which never fails to freeze up the river St. Laurence.

The

The city of Quebec being reduced, together with great part of the circumjacent country, brigadier Townſhend, who had accepted his commiſſion with the expreſs proviſo, that he ſhould return to England at the end of the campaign, left a garriſon of 5000 effective men, victualled from the fleet, under the command of brigadier Murray; and embarking with admiral Saunders, arrived in Great Britain about the beginning of winter. As for brigadier Monckton, he was conveyed to New York, where he happily recovered of his wounds.

While the arms of Great Britain triumphed in Europe and America, her intereſt was not ſuffered to languiſh in other parts of the world. This was the ſeaſon of ambition and activity, in which every ſeparate armament ſeemed to exert themſelves with the moſt eager appetite of glory. The Eaſt Indies, which, in the courſe of the preceding year, had been the theatre of operations carried on with various ſucceſs, exhibited nothing now but a ſucceſſion of trophies to the Engliſh commanders. During the operations by land, the ſuperiority at ſea was ſtill diſputed between the Engliſh and French admirals. On the 1ſt day of September, vice-admiral Pocock ſailed from Madraſs to the ſouthward, in queſt of the enemy; and next day deſcried the French fleet, conſiſting of fifteen ſail, ſtanding to the northward. He uſed his utmoſt endeavours to bring them to a battle, which they ſtill declined, and at laſt they diſappeared. He then directed his courſe to Pondicherry, on the ſuppoſition that they were bound to that harbour; and on the 8th day of the month, perceived them ſtanding to the ſouthward: but he could not bring them to an engagement till the 10th, when Mr. d'Apche, about two in the afternoon, made the ſignal for battle, and the cannonading began without further delay. The Britiſh ſquadron did not exceed nine ſhips of the line; the enemy's fleet conſiſted of eleven;

eleven; but they had ſtill a greater advantage in number of men and artillery. Both ſquadrons fought with great impetuoſity, till about ten minutes after four, when the enemy's rear began to give way: this example was ſoon followed by their centre: and finally the van, with the whole ſquadron, bore to the ſouth ſouth-eaſt, with all the canvas they could ſpread. The Britiſh ſquadron was ſo much damaged in their maſts and rigging, that they could not purſue; ſo that M. d'Apche retreated at his leiſure unmoleſted. On the 15th, admiral Pocock returned to Madraſs, where his ſquadron being prepared by the 26th, he ſailed again to Pondicherry, and in the road ſaw the enemy lying at anchor in line of battle. The wind being off ſhore, he made the line of battle a-head, and for ſome time continued in this ſituation. At length the French admiral weighed anchor, and came forth; but inſtead of bearing down upon the Engliſh ſquadron, which had fallen to leeward, he kept cloſe to the wind, and ſtretched away to the ſouthward. Admiral Pocock finding him averſe to another engagement, and his own ſquadron being in no condition to purſue, he, with the advice of his captains, deſiſted, and meaſured back his courſe to Madraſs; while the French ſquadron made the beſt of their way to the iſland of Mauritius, in order to be refitted, having on board general Lally, and ſome other officers. Thus they left the Engliſh maſters of the Indian coaſt; a ſuperiority ſtill more confirmed by the arrival of rear-admiral Corniſh with four ſhips of the line, who had ſet ſail from England in the beginning of the year, and joined admiral Pocock at Madraſs on the 18th day of October.

The French were not the only enemies with whom the Engliſh had to cope in the Eaſt Indies. The great extenſion of their trade in the kingdom of Bengal had excited the envy and avarice of the Dutch factory, who poſſeſſed a ſtrong fort at Chinchura in the river of Bengal; and reſolved, if poſſible, to engroſs the

whole ſalt-petre branch of commerce. Their ſcheme was approved by the governor of Batavia, who charged himſelf with the execution of it; and for that purpoſe, choſe the opportunity when the Britiſh ſquadron had retired to the coaſt of Malabar. On pretence of reinforcing the Dutch garriſons in Bengal, he equipped an armament of ſeven ſhips, having on board 500 European troops, and 600 Malayeſe, under the command of colonel Ruſſel. This armament having touched at Negapatam, proceeded up the bay, and arrived in the river of Bengal about the beginning of October. Colonel Clive, who then reſided at Calcutta, had received information of their deſign, which he was reſolved, at all events, to defeat. He complained to the Subah, who, upon ſuch application, could not decently refuſe an order to the director and council of Hughley, implying, that this armament ſhould not proceed up the river. The colonel at the ſame time ſent a letter to the Dutch commodore, that as he had received information of their deſign, he could not allow them to land forces, and march to Chinchura. In anſwer to this declaration, the Dutch commodore, whoſe whole fleet had not yet arrived, aſſured the Engliſh commander that he had no intention to ſend any forces to Chinchura; and begged liberty to land ſome of his troops for refreſhment; a favour that was granted, on condition that they ſhould not advance. Notwithſtanding the Subah's order, and his own engagement to this effect, the reſt of the ſhips were no ſooner arrived, than he proceeded up the river to the neighbourhood of Tannah-fort, where his forces being diſembarked, began their march to Chinchura. In the mean time, by way of retaliating the affront he pretended to have ſuſtained, in being denied a paſſage to their own factory, he took ſeveral ſmall veſſels on the river belonging to the Engliſh company: and the Calcutta Indiaman, commanded by captain Wilſon, homeward-bound, ſailing down the river, the Dutchman gave

gave him to underſtand, that if he preſumed to paſs, he would ſink him without further ceremony. The Engliſh captain ſeeing them run out their guns, as if really reſolved to put the threats in execution, returned to Calcutta, where two other India ſhips lay at an anchor; and reported his adventure to colonel Clive, who forthwith ordered the three ſhips to prepare for battle, and attack the Dutch armament. The ſhips being properly manned, and their quarters lined with ſalt-petre, they fell down the river, and found the Dutch ſquadron drawn up in line of battle, in order to give them a warm reception; for which indeed they ſeemed well prepared: for three of them were mounted with 36 guns each; three of them with 26; and the ſeventh carried 16. The duke of Dorſet, commanded by captain Forreſter, being the firſt that approached them, dropped anchor cloſe to their line, and began the engagement with a broadſide, which was immediately returned. A dead calm unfortunately intervening, this ſingle ſhip was for a conſiderable time expoſed to the whole fire of the enemy; but a ſmall breeze ſpringing up, the Calcutta and the Hardwick advanced to her aſſiſtance, and a ſevere fire was maintained on both ſides, till two of the Dutch ſhips ſlipping their cables, bore away, and a third was driven aſhore. Their commodore thus weakened, after a few broadſides, ſtruck his flag to captain Wilſon; and the other three followed his example. The victory being thus obtained, without the loſs of one man on the ſide of the Engliſh, captain Wilſon took poſſeſſion of the prizes, the decks of which were ſtrewed with carnage, and ſent the priſoners to colonel Clive at Calcutta. The detachment of troops, which they had landed to the number of 1100 men, was not more fortunate in their progreſs. Colonel Clive no ſooner received intelligence that they were in full march to Chinchura, than he detached colonel Forde, with 500 men from Calcutta, in order to put a ſtop to their march. The Dutch advanced

to the charge with great reſolution and activity; but found the fire of the Engliſh artillery and battalion ſo intolerably hot, that they ſoon gave way, and were totally defeated.

In the mean time, propoſals of accommodation being ſent to him by the directors and council of the Dutch factory at Chinchura, a negotiation enſued, and a treaty was concluded to the ſatisfaction of all parties. Above 300 of the priſoners entered into the ſervice of Great Britain: the reſt embarked on board their ſhips, which were reſtored as ſoon as the peace was ratified, and ſet out on their return for Batavia.

The navy in 1760 amounted to 120 ſhips of the line, beſide frigates, fireſhips, ſloops, bombs, and tenders. Of theſe ſhips 17 were ſtationed in the Eaſt Indies, 20 for the defence of the Weſt Indian iſlands, 12 in North America, 10 in the Mediterranean, and 61 either on the coaſt of France, in the harbours of England, or cruiſing in the Engliſh ſeas for the protection of the Britiſh commerce. Notwithſtanding theſe numerous and powerful armaments, the enemy, who had not a ſhip of the line at ſea, were ſo alert with their ſmall privateers and armed veſſels, that, in the beginning of this year, from the 1ſt of March to the 10th of June, they had made prize of 200 veſſels belonging to Great Britain and Ireland. The prodigious number of Britiſh veſſels, taken by their petty coaſting privateers, in the face of ſuch mighty armaments, numerous cruiſers, and convoys, ſeems to argue, that either the Engliſh ſhips of war were inactive or improperly diſpoſed; or that the merchants hazarded their ſhips without convoy. Certain it is, in the courſe of this year we find fewer prizes taken from the enemy, and fewer exploits atchieved at ſea, than we had occaſion to record in the annals of the paſt.

Not that the preſent year is altogether barren of events, which redound to the honour of our marine commanders. We have, in recounting the tranſ-

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actions of the preceding year, mentioned a ſmall armament equipped at Dunkirk, under the command of Mr. de Thurot; who, in ſpight of all the vigilance of the Britiſh commander ſtationed in the Downs, found means to eſcape from the harbour in the month of October, and arrived at Gottenburgh in Sweden, from whence he proceeded to Bergen in Norway. His inſtructions were to make occaſional deſcents upon the coaſt of Ireland; and, by dividing the troops, and diſtracting the attention of the government in that kingdom, to facilitate the enterprize of Mr. de Conflans, the fate of which we have already narrated. The original armament of Thurot conſiſted of five ſhips, one of which, called the Mareſchal de Belleiſle, was mounted with 44 guns; the Begon, the Blond, the Terpſichore, had 30 guns each; and the Marante carried 24. The number of ſoldiers put on board this little fleet, did not exceed 1270, excluſive of mariners to the number of 700: but in their voyage between Gottenburgh and Bergen they loſt company of the Begon, during a violent ſtorm. The intention of Thurot was to make a deſcent about Derry; but before this deſign could be executed, the weather growing tempeſtuous, they were driven out to ſea, and, in the night, loſt ſight of the Marante, which never joined them in the ſequel. After having been tempeſt-beaten for ſome time, the officers requeſted of Thurot, that he would return to France, leſt they ſhould all periſh by famine; but he lent a deaf ear to this propoſal, and frankly told them, he could not return to France, without having ſtruck ſome ſtroke for the ſervice of his country. Nevertheleſs, in hope of meeting with ſome refreſhment, he ſteered to the iſland of Iſla, where the troops were landed; and here they found black cattle, and a ſmall ſupply of oatmeal, for which they payed a reaſonable price; and it muſt be owned, Thurot himſelf behaved with great moderation and generoſity.

While this ſpirited adventurer ſtruggled with theſe wants and difficulties, his arrival in thoſe ſeas filled the whole kingdom with alarm. Bodies of regular troops and militia were poſted along the coaſts of Ireland and Scotland; and beſide the ſquadron of commodore Boys, who ſailed to the northward on purpoſe to purſue the enemy, other ſhips of war were ordered to ſcour the Britiſh channel, and cruize between Scotland and Ireland. The weather no ſooner permitted Thurot to purſue his deſtination, than he ſailed from Iſla to the bay of Carrickfergus in Ireland, and made all the neceſſary preparations for a deſcent; which was accordingly effected, with 600 men, on the 21ſt day of February. Lieutenant colonel Jennings commanded four companies of raw undiſciplined men at Carrickfergus. A regular attack was carried on, and a ſpirited defence made, until the ammunition of the Engliſh failed: then colonel Jennings retired in order to the caſtle; which, however, was in all reſpects untenable. Nevertheleſs, they repulſed the aſſailants in their firſt attack, even after the gate was burſt open; and ſupplied the want of ſhot with ſtones and rubbiſh. At length, the colonel and his troops were obliged to ſurrender, on condition that they ſhould not be ſent priſoners to France, but be ranſomed. The enemy, after this exploit, did not preſume to advance farther into the country; a ſtep which indeed they could not have taken, with any regard to their own ſafety: and the defeat of Conflans, which they had alſo learned, obliged them to reimbark with ſome precipitation, after having laid Carrickfergus under moderate contribution.

The fate they eſcaped on ſhore, they ſoon met with at ſea. Captain John Elliot, who commanded three frigates at Kinſale, was informed by a diſpatch, that three of the enemy's ſhips lay at anchor in the bay of Carrickfergus; and thither he immediately ſhaped his courſe in the ſhip Æolus, accompanied by the Pallas and

and Brilliant, under the command of the captains Clements and Logie. On February the 28th they deſcried the enemy, and gave chace, in ſight of the Iſle of Man; and about nine in the morning captain Elliot, in his own ſhip, engaged the Belleiſle, commanded by Thurot, although conſiderably his ſuperior in ſtrength of men, number of guns, and weight of metal. In a few minutes his conſorts were alſo engaged with the other two ſhips of the enemy. After a warm action maintained with great ſpirit on all ſides for an hour and a half, in which Thurot was killed; captain Elliot's lieutenant boarded the Belleiſle, and, ſtriking her colours with his own hand, the commander ſubmitted: his example was immediately followed by the other French captains; and the Engliſh commodore, taking poſſeſſion of his prizes, conveyed them into the bay of Ramſay in the Iſle of Man, that their damage might be repaired. The name of Thurot was become terrible to all the trading ſea-ports of Britain and Ireland; and therefore the defeat and capture of his ſquadron were celebrated with as hearty rejoicings, as the moſt important victory could have produced.

The incidents of the war were much more important and deciſive in America. Brigadier-general Murray had been left to command the garriſon of Quebec, amounting to about 6000 men; a ſtrong ſquadron of ſhips was ſtationed at Halifax in Nova Scotia, under the direction of lord Colvil, an able and experienced officer, who had inſtructions to reviſit Quebec in the beginning of ſummer, as ſoon as the river St. Laurence ſhould be navigable: and general Amherſt, the commander in chief of the forces in America, wintered in New York, that he might be at hand to aſſemble his troops in the ſpring, and recommence his operations for the entire reduction of Canada. The garriſon, however, within the walls of Quebec, ſuffered greatly from the exceſſive cold in the winter, and the want of vegetables and freſh pro-

viſion, inſomuch that, before the end of April, 1000 ſoldiers were dead of the ſcurvy, and twice that number rendered unfit for ſervice. Such was the ſituation of the garriſon, when Mr. Murray received undoubted intelligence, that the French commander, the chevalier de Levis, was employed in aſſembling his army, which had been cantoned in the neighbourhood of Montreal; and determined to undertake the ſiege of Quebec, whenever the river St. Laurence ſhould be ſo clear of ice, that he might uſe his four frigates, and other veſſels, by means of which he was entirely maſter of the river.

The French accordingly landed, and Mr. Murray was defeated in an engagement with them. The French therefore formed the ſiege of the place.

Lord Colvil had ſailed from Halifax, with the fleet under his command, but was retarded in his paſſage by thick fogs, contrary winds, and great ſhoals of ice floating down the river. Commodore Swanton, who had ſailed from England with a ſmall reinforcement, arrived about the beginning of May at the Iſle of Bec, in the river St. Laurence; where, with two ſhips, he purpoſed to wait for the reſt of his ſquadron, which had ſeparated from him in the paſſage: but one of theſe, the Loweſtoffe, commanded by captain Deane, had entered the harbour of Quebec on the 9th day of May, and communicated to the governor the joyful news that the ſquadron was arrived in the river. Commodore Swanton no ſooner received intimation that Quebec was beſieged, than he ſailed up the river with all poſſible expedition, and anchored above Point Levi. The brigadier expreſſing an earneſt deſire, that the French ſquadron above the town might be removed, the commodore ordered captain Schomberg of the Diana, and captain Deane of the Loweſtoffe, to ſlip their cables early next morning, and attack the enemy's fleet, conſiſting of two frigates, two armed ſhips, and a good number of ſmaller veſſels. They were no ſooner in motion than the

French

French ſhips fled in the utmoſt diſorder. One of their frigates was driven on the rocks above Cape Diamond; the other ran aſhore, and was burned at Point au Tremble, about ten leagues above the town; and all the other veſſels were taken or deſtroyed.

The enemy were ſo confounded and diſpirited by this diſaſter, and the certain information that a ſtrong Engliſh fleet was already in the river of St. Laurence, that in the following night they raiſed the ſiege of Quebec, and retreated with great precipitation. The reduction of Montreal followed ſoon after.

The French miniſtry had attempted to ſuccour Montreal, by equipping a conſiderable number of ſtoreſhips, and ſending them out in the ſpring under convoy of a frigate; but as their officers underſtood that the Britiſh ſquadron had ſailed up the river St. Laurence before their arrival, they took ſhelter in the bay of Chaleurs on the coaſt of Acadia, where they did not long remain unmoleſted. Captain Byron, who commanded the ſhips of war that were left at Louiſbourg, having received intelligence of them, ſailed thither with his ſquadron, and found them at anchor. The whole fleet conſiſted of one frigate, two large ſtore-ſhips, and nineteen ſail of ſmaller veſſels, the greater part of which had been taken from the merchants of Great Britain: all theſe were deſtroyed, together with two batteries which had been raiſed for their protection. The French town, conſiſting of 200 houſes, was demoliſhed, and the ſettlement totally ruined.

The conqueſt of Canada being atchieved, nothing now remained to be done in North America, except the demolition of the fortifications of Louiſbourg on the iſland of Cape Breton; for which purpoſe, ſome able engineers had been ſent from England with the ſhips commanded by captain Byron. By means of mines artfully diſpoſed and well conſtructed, the fortifications were reduced to a heap of rubbiſh; the

glacis was levelled, and the ditches were filled. All the artillery, ammunition, and implements of war, were conveyed to Halifax; but the barracks were repaired ſo as to accommodate 300 men occaſionally; and the hoſpital, with the private houſes, were left ſtanding.

Rear-admiral Holmes, who commanded at ſea, in the Weſt Indies, took every precaution to ſecure the iſland of Jamaica from inſult or invaſion, and alſo contrived ſchemes for annoying the enemy. Having, in the month of October, received intelligence that five French frigates were equipped at Cape Francois on the iſland of Hiſpaniola, in order to convoy a fleet of merchant-ſhips to Europe, he ſtationed the ſhips under his command in ſuch a manner as was moſt likely to intercept this fleet: and by the prudent diſpoſition of the admiral, ſupported by the gallantry of his captains, two large frigates of the enemy were taken, viz. the Sirenne and the Valeur; and three deſtroyed.

The ſpirit of the officers was happily ſupported by an uncommon exertion of courage in the men, who chearfully engaged in the moſt dangerous enterprizes. Immediately after the capture of the French frigates, eight of the enemy's privateers were deſtroyed or brought into Jamaica.

The ſame activity and reſolution diſtinguiſhed the captains and officers belonging to the ſquadron commanded by Sir James Douglas off the Leeward iſlands. In the month of September, the captains Obrien and Taylor, of the ſhips Temple and Griffin, being on a joint cruiſe off the iſlands Granadas, received intelligence that the Virgin, formerly a Britiſh ſloop of war, which had been taken by the enemy, then lay at anchor, together with three privateers, under protection of three forts on the iſland; he ſailed thither in order to attack them; and the enterprize was crowned with ſucceſs. After a warm engagement, that laſted ſeveral hours, the enemy's batteries were demoliſhed, and

and the Engliſh captains took poſſeſſion of the four prizes. They afterward entered another harbour of that iſland, having firſt demoliſhed another fort; and carried off three more prizes. In their return to Antigua, they fell in with thirteen ſhips bound to Martinique with proviſions, and took them all without reſiſtance. About the ſame time, eight or nine privateers were taken by the ſhips which commodore Douglas employed in cruiſing round the iſland of Guadaloupe; ſo that the Britiſh commerce in thoſe ſeas flouriſhed under his care and protection.

No action of importance was in the courſe of this year atchieved by the naval forces of Great Britain in the ſeas of Europe. A powerful ſquadron ſtill remained in the bay of Quiberon, in order to amuſe and employ a body of French forces on that part of the coaſt; and interrupt the navigation of the enemy: though the principal aim of this armament ſeems to have been to watch and detain the few French ſhips, which had run into the river Villaine, after the defeat of Conflans; an object the importance of which will doubtleſs aſtoniſh poſterity.

Admiral Rodney ſtill maintained his former ſtation off the coaſt of Havre de Grace, to obſerve what ſhould paſs at the mouth of the Seine. In the month of July, while he hovered in this neighbourhood, five large flat-bottomed boats loaded with cannon and ſhot, ſet ſail from Harfleur in the middle of the day, with their colours flying, as if they had ſet the Engliſh ſquadron at defiance; for the walls of Havre de Grace, and even the adjacent hills were covered with ſpectators, aſſembled to behold the iſſue of this adventure. Having reached the river of Caen, they ſtood backward and forward upon the ſhoals, intending to amuſe Mr. Rodney till night, and then proceed under cover of the darkneſs. He perceived their drift, and gave directions to his ſmall veſſels as ſoon as day-light failed, to make all the ſail they could to cut off the enemy's retreat; while he himſelf

ſtood

ſtood with the larger ſhips to the ſteep coaſt of Port Baſſin. The ſcheme ſucceeded to his wiſh. The enemy, ſeeing their retreat cut off, ran aſhore at Port Baſſin, where the admiral deſtroyed them, together with the ſmall fort which had been erected for the defence of this harbour. Each of thoſe veſſels was 100 feet in length, capable of containing 400 men for a ſhort paſſage. What their deſtination was, we cannot pretend to determine: but the French had provided a great number of theſe tranſports; for ten eſcaped into the river Orne leading to Caen; and in conſequence of this diſaſter 100 were unloaded and ſent up again to Rouen. The cutters belonging to Mr. Rodney's ſquadron ſcoured the coaſt toward Dieppe, where a conſiderable fiſhery was carried on, and where they took or deſtroyed near 40 veſſels of conſiderable burden.

Of the domeſtic tranſactions relating to the war, the moſt conſiderable was the equipment of a powerful armament deſtined for ſome ſecret expedition. The troops were actually embarked with a great train of artillery; and the eyes of the whole nation were attentively fixed upon this armament, which could not have been prepared without incurring a prodigious expence. Notwithſtanding theſe preparations, the whole ſummer was ſpent in idleneſs and inaction; and at the end of the ſeaſon the undertaking was laid aſide.

We ſhall now turn our attention to the progreſs of the Britiſh arms in the Eaſt Indies. Colonel Coote, after having defeated the French general Lally in the field, and reduced divers of the enemy's ſettlements on the coaſt of Coromandel, at length cooped them up within the walls of Pondicherry, the principal ſeat of the French Eaſt India company. In the month of October admiral Stevens ſailed from Trincamaley with all his ſquadron, in order to its being refitted, except five ſail of the line, which he left under the command of captain Haldane, to block up Pondicherry by ſea, while

while Mr. Coote ſhould carry on his operations by land. By this diſpoſition, and the vigilance of the Britiſh officers, the place was ſo hampered as to be greatly diſtreſſed for want of proviſions, even before the ſiege could be undertaken in form; for the rainy ſeaſon rendered all regular approaches impracticable. Lally made a gallant defence, and had he been properly ſupplied with proviſion, the conqueſt of the place would not have been ſo eaſily atchieved. He was obliged, however, to ſurrender the place at diſcretion.

By the reduction of Pondicherry the French intereſt was annihilated on the coaſt of Coromandel, and therefore it was of the utmoſt importance to the Britiſh nation. It may be doubted, however, whether colonel Coote, with all his ſpirit, vigilance, and military talents, could have ſucceeded in this enterprize, without the aſſiſtance of the ſquadron, which co-operated with him by ſea, and effectually excluded all ſuccours from the beſieged. It muſt be owned, for the honour of the ſervice, that no incident interrupted the good underſtanding which was maintained between the land and ſea officers; who vied with each other in contributing their utmoſt efforts toward the ſucceſs of the expedition.

While the arms of great Britain ſtill proſpered in every effort tending to the real intereſt of the nation, an event happened which, for a moment, obſcured the ſplendour of her triumphs. On the 25th day of October, 1760, George II. king of Great Britain, without any previous diſorder, died ſuddenly in his palace at Kenſington; at the age of ſeventy-ſeven, after a long reign of thirty-three years, diſtinguiſhed by a variety of important events, and chequered with a viciſſitude of character and fortune. He loved war as a ſoldier; he ſtudied it as a ſcience; and correſponded on the ſubject with ſome of the greateſt officers whom Germany had produced. The extent of his underſtanding, and the ſplendour of his virtue, we

ſhall not preſume to aſcertain, nor attempt to diſplay. With reſpect to his government, it very ſeldom deviated from the inſtitutions of law; encroached upon private property; or interfered with the common adminiſtration of juſtice. The circumſtances that chiefly mark his public character, were a predilection for his native country, and a cloſe attention to the political intereſts of the Germanic body: points and principles to which he adhered invincibly.

We poſtpone giving the ſtate of the navy at this period; propoſing to give a particular liſt of the Britiſh navy as it ſtood at the enſuing peace.

The demiſe of the crown was no ſooner ſignified to the ſecretaries of ſtate, than Mr. Pitt repaired to Kew, and communicated theſe tidings to his new ſovereign George III. grandſon to the late king, who thus aſcended the throne in the 23d year of his age. How much ſoever the new king might have diſapproved of thoſe meaſures which had involved the nation in ſuch an expenſive war on the continent of Europe, affairs were ſo ſituated, that he could not abruptly renounce that ſyſtem of politics, with any regard to the dignity of his crown, or to the honour of the public faith, which was in ſome meaſure engaged to ſupport the German allies of Great Britain. With the crown he inherited a war, which he thought it his duty to proſecute with vigour, until it could be terminated by a general peace; in which the honour and advantage of the nation might be equally conſulted. It was therefore agreed, that the armament then preparing at Portſmouth ſhould proceed on the expedition for which it was originally intended; but it was countermanded in the ſequel.

The chief command of the army in Great Britain reſted in the perſon of lord Ligonier. The German army in Weſtphalia, payed by England, remained under the auſpices of prince Ferdinand of Brunſwick: the marquis of Granby commanded the Britiſh forces on that ſervice; and the direction of the troops in Ame-

America was ſtill retained by Sir Jeffery Amherſt. Neither was any material change produced in the diſpoſition of the different ſquadrons which conſtituted the navy of Great Britain. Admiral Holborne's flag continued flying at Spithead. Sir Edward Hawke and Sir Charles Hardy were ſtationed in the bay of Quiberon. Sir Charles Saunders kept the ſea in the Mediterranean. The rear-admirals Stevens and Corniſh commanded one ſquadron in the Eaſt Indies; rear-admiral Holmes another at Jamaica; Sir James Douglas a third at the Leeward Iſlands; Lord Colvil a fourth at Halifax in Nova Scotia. Theſe were ſtationary; but other ſquadrons were equipped occaſionally, under different commanders; beſide the ſingle ſhips that cruiſed in and about the Channel, and thoſe that were ſtationed to protect the trade of Great Britain in different parts of the world.

Even from the beginning of winter, the ſingle ſhips that cruiſed in the Channel were conducted with ſuch care and dexterity, that they made prize of a great number of French privateers; a circumſtance that evinced their own vigilance and the enemy's activity. In the month of January, captain Elphinſton, of the Richmond, of 32 guns, fell in with the Felicite, a French frigate, of the ſame force, off the coaſt of Holland: a ſevere engagement began about ten in the morning, near Graveſande, about eight miles from the Hague, to which place the prince of Orange, general Yorke the Britiſh envoy, and the count d'Affry the French ambaſſador, repaired, with a great multitude of people, to behold the conflict. About noon both ſhips ran aſhore; nevertheleſs the action was ſtill maintained, until the enemy deſerted their quarters: they afterward abandoned the ſhip, which was entirely deſtroyed, after having loſt their captain and about 100 men, who fell in the diſpute. The Richmond ſoon floated, without any damage; and the victory coſt but three men killed, and thirteen wounded. The French

court loudly exclaimed againſt this attack as a violation of the Dutch neutrality, and demanded ſignal ſatisfaction for the inſult and damage they had ſuſtained. Accordingly the States General made ſome remonſtrances to the court of London, which found means to remove all cauſe of miſunderſtanding on this ſubject. The Felicite was bound for Martinique, with a valuable cargo, in company with another frigate of the ſame force, which ſuffered ſhipwreck on the coaſt of Dunkirk.

In the courſe of the ſame month, captain Hood, in the Minerva frigate, cruiſing in the chops of the channel, deſcried a great ſhip of two decks ſteering to the weſtward, and found it to be the Warwick, an Engliſh ſhip, which had carried ſixty cannon, and been taken by the enemy. She was now mounted with thirty-five guns, and commanded by Mr. le Verger de Belair, with a commiſſion from the French king. Her crew amounted to about 300 men, including a detachment of ſoldiers; and he was bound to Pondicherry in the Eaſt Indies. Captain Hood, notwithſtanding her ſuperior ſize, attacked her without heſitation, and was very warmly received. In the iſſue the captain of the Warwick ſtruck his colours, having loſt about 14 men killed outright, beſide 35 wounded. The loſs in number of men was equal on board the Minerva, and all her maſts went by the board: nevertheleſs the prize was brought in triumph to Spithead. In the progreſs of the ſame cruize, captain Hood had alſo taken the Ecurneil privateer from Bayonne, of 14 guns, and 122 men.

In March, another French ſhip, called the Entreprenant, pierced for 44 guns, but mounted with 26 only, having 200 men on board, and a rich cargo, bound for St. Domingo, was encountered near the Land's-end by the Vengeance frigate of 26 guns, commanded by captain Nightingale. The action was maintained on both ſides with uncommon fury, until the Vengeance being ſet on fire by the enemy's wadding;

ding; the French reſolved to take advantage of the confuſion produced by this accident, and, running their boltſprit upon the taffaril of the Engliſh frigate, attempted to board her. In this deſign, however, they miſcarried, through the courage and activity of captain Nightingale; who found means to diſengage himſelf, and ſheered off to repair his rigging, which had greatly ſuffered in the engagement. The ſhip was no ſooner in proper condition, than he ranged up again cloſe to the enemy, and renewed the conteſt, which laſted a full hour: then the Entreprenant bore away. Captain Nightingale, though a ſecond time diſabled in his maſts and rigging, wore ſhip, ran within piſtol-ſhot, and began a third vigorous attack, which laſted an hour and a half before the enemy called for quarter. Fifteen of their men were killed, and about twice that number wounded. The victors loſt about half as many. The iſſue of all theſe engagements between ſingle ſhips, proves, to demonſtration, that the French mariners neither work their ſhips nor manage their artillery with that ſkill and dexterity which appear in the Engliſh navy: a circumſtance the more remarkable, as all the French ſeamen are regularly taught the practical part of gunnery; whereas no ſuch pains are taken with the ſailors of Great Britain.

In April, another French frigate, called the Comete, of 32 guns, and 250 men, juſt ſailed from Breſt, was taken to the weſtward of Uſhant by the Bedford, captain Deane. About the ſame period, and near the ſame place, a fourth frigate of the enemy, called the Pheaſant, manned with 125 mariners, was taken by captain Brograve, of the Albany ſloop; whoſe victory was the cheaper, as the crew of the Pheaſant had thrown 14 of her guns over-board during the chace. In the courſe of the ſame month, a large Eaſt India ſhip, fitted out from France, with 28 guns, and 350 men, fell in with the Hero and the Venus,

Venus, commanded by the captains Forteſcue and Harriſon, and were taken without oppoſition.

The cruizers belonging to the ſquadron commanded by vice-admiral Saunders in the Mediterranean, were diſtinguiſhed by the ſame ſpirit of enterprize and activity. In the beginning of this very month, the Oriflamme, a French ſhip of 40 guns, being off Cape Tres Foreas, was taken by the Iſis, captain Wheeler, who being unfortunately killed in the beginning of the action, the command devolved to lieutenant Cunningham: ſhe was brought into the bay of Gibraltar. In July another exploit was performed by a ſmall detachment from the ſquadron commanded by the ſame admiral. Captain Proby, in the Thunderer, together with the Modeſte, Thetis and Favourite ſloop, being ordered to cruiſe upon the coaſt of Spain with a view to intercept the Achilles and Bouffon, two French ſhips of war, which lay in the harbour of Cadiz; they at length ventured to come forth, and were deſcried by the Britiſh cruizers. About midnight, the Thunderer came up with the Achilles, which ſtruck, after a warm engagement of half an hour. The Thetis engaged the Bouffon, and the fire was maintained on both ſides with great vivacity for half an hour, when the Modeſte ranging up, and firing a few guns, the French captain ſubmitted. His ſhip and her conſort ſuffered conſiderably, both in their crews and rigging; nevertheleſs, the victors carried them ſafely into the bay of Gibraltar.

One of the moſt remarkable and ſhining actions that diſtinguiſhed this war, and proved, beyond all contradiction, the ſuperiority which the Engliſh claimed over the French in point of naval diſcipline, was an incident which we ſhall now relate. Auguſt 10th, captain Faulkner of the Bellona, a ſhip of the line, and captain Logie of the Brilliant, a frigate, ſailed from the Tagus for England, having on board a conſiderable ſum of money for the merchants of London.

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In the afternoon, being then off Vigo, they diſcovered three ſail of ſhips ſtanding in for the land, one of the line of battle, and two frigates. They no ſooner deſcried captain Faulkner, than they bore down upon him, until within the diſtance of ſeven miles, when, ſeeing the Bellona and a frigate through the magnifying medium of a hazy atmoſphere, they miſtook them both for two-decked ſhips, and dreading the iſſue of an engagement, reſolved to avoid the encounter. For this purpoſe, they ſuddenly wore round, filled their ſails, and crouded away. Captain Faulkner, being by this time convinced of their ſize, and conjecturing, from the intelligence he had received, that the large ſhip was the Courageux (in which particular he was not miſtaken) he hoiſted all the canvas he could carry, and gave chace until ſun-ſet; when one of the French frigates hauling out in the offing, he diſplayed a ſignal to the Brilliant to purſue in that direction, and his order was immediately obeyed. They kept ſight of the enemy during the whole night, and at ſun-riſe had gained but about two miles upon them in a chace of fourteen hours; ſo that the French commodore might have ſtill avoided an engagement for the whole day, and enjoyed the chance of eſcaping in the darkneſs of the ſucceeding night; but he no longer declined the action. The air being perfectly ſerene, he now perceived that one of the Engliſh ſhips was a frigate; and the Bellona herſelf which was one of the beſt conſtituted ſhips in the Engliſh navy, lay ſo fluſh in the water as to appear at a diſtance conſiderably ſmaller than ſhe really was. The French commodore, therefore, hoiſted a ſignal for his two frigates to cloſe with and engage the Brilliant. At the ſame time he wore round, and ſtood for the Bellona under his topſails; while captain Faulkner advanced toward her with an eaſy ſail, and ordered his quarters to be manned. The ſea was undulated by a gentle breeze, which facilitated the working of the ſhips, and at the ſame time per-

mitted the full uſe of their heavy artillery. The two ſhips were equal in burden, in number of guns, and in weight of metal. The crew on board the Courageux amounted to 700 men, able to ſtand to their quarters; and they were commanded by M. du Guy Lambert, an officer of approved valour and ability. The Bellona's compliment conſiſted of 550 choſen men, accuſtomed to diſcipline, and inured to ſervice. All the officers were gentlemen of known merit, and the commander had on many occaſions diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his bravery and conduct. The fire on both ſides was ſuſpended till they were within muſket-ſhot of each other, and then the engagement began with a dreadful diſcharge of fire-arms and artillery. In leſs than nine minutes, all the Bellona's braces, bowlings, ſhrowds, and rigging, were cut and ſhattered by the ſhot, and the mizen-maſt fell over the ſtern, with all the men on the round-top; who, nevertheleſs, ſaved their lives, by clambering into the port-holes of the gun-room. Captain Faulkner, apprehenſive that the enemy would ſeize the opportunity of his being diſabled, and endeavour to eſcape, gave orders for immediate boarding; an attempt which the poſition of the two ſhips ſoon rendered altogether impracticable. The Courageux was now falling athwart the fore-foot, or bows of the Bellona, in which caſe the Engliſh ſhip muſt have been raked fore and aft with great execution. The haul-yards, and moſt of the other ropes by which the Bellona could be worked, were already ſhot away. Captain Faulkner, however, with the aſſiſtance of his maſter, made uſe of the ſtudding ſails with ſuch dexterity, as to ware the ſhip quite round, and fall upon the oppoſite quarter of the Courageux. His preſence of mind and activity in this delicate ſituation, were not more admirable than the diſcipline and diſpatch of his officers and men, who, perceiving this change of their ſituation, flew to the guns on the other ſide, now oppoſed to the enemy, from whence

whence they poured in a moſt terrible diſcharge, and maintained it without intermiſſion or abatement. Every ſhot took place, and bore deſtruction along with it. The ſides of the Courageux were ſhattered and torn by every ſucceſſive broadſide, and her decks were ſtrewed with carnage. About twenty minutes did the enemy ſuſtain the havock made by this battery, ſo inceſſantly plied and ſo fatally directed. At length it became ſo intolerable, that the French enſign was hauled down: the rage of battle ceaſed; the Engliſh mariners had left their quarters, and the officers congratulated each other on the ſucceſs of the day. At this juncture, a ſhot being unexpectedly fired from the lower tire of the Courageux, the Britiſh ſeamen ran to their quarters, and, without orders, poured in two broadſides upon the enemy, who now called for quarter, and an end was put to the engagement. The damage done to the rigging of the Bellona was conſiderable; but ſhe ſuffered very little in the hull, and the number of the killed and wounded did not exceed forty. The caſe was very different with the Courageux, which now appeared like a wreck upon the water. Nothing was ſeen ſtanding but her foremaſt and boltſprit; large breaches were made in her ſides; her decks were torn up in ſeveral parts; many of her guns were diſmounted; and her quarters filled with the mangled bodies of the dying and the dead. Above 220 were killed outright, and half that number was brought aſhore wounded to Liſbon, to which place the prize was conveyed. Captain Faulkner was not more commendable for his gallantry in the action, than for the humanity and politeneſs with which he treated his priſoners; whoſe grateful acknowlegment, and unſolicited applauſe, conſtitute the faireſt teſtimony that a man of honour can enjoy. Nor ought captain Logie of the Brilliant to be forgotten, whoſe valour and dexterity, in a great meaſure, contributed to the ſucceſs of his commodore. The two Engliſh captains

joined in a liberal ſubſcription with the Britiſh factory at Liſbon, for the relief of the wounded French priſoners, who, without this generous interpoſition, muſt have ſtarved, as no proviſion was made by their ſovereign.

In the Weſt Indies, rear-admiral Holmes, commander of the ſquadron at Jamaica, planned his cruizes with equal judgment and ſucceſs. Having received intelligence in the beginning of June, that ſeveral ſhips of war belonging to the enemy had ſailed from Port Louis, and in particular, that the St. Anne had juſt quitted Port au Prince; he forthwith made ſuch a diſpoſition of his ſquadron as was moſt likely to intercept them. He fell in with and took the St. Anne, a beautiful new ſhip, pierced for 64 cannon, but mounting only 40, manned with near 400 mariners and ſoldiers; and loaded with a rich cargo of coffee, indigo, and ſugar. Nor was the ſquadron ſtationed off the Leeward Iſlands, under the direction of Sir James Douglas, leſs alert and effectual in protecting the Britiſh traders, and ſcouring thoſe ſeas of the Martinico privateers, of which he took a great number.

The iſland of Dominique, which the French had ſettled and put in a poſture of defence, was attacked and reduced by a ſmall body of troops, commanded by lord Rollo, and conveyed thither from Guadalupe by Sir James Douglas, with four ſhips of the line, and ſome frigates.

According to the laudable cuſtom of theſe latter times, a powerful ſquadron had been ſtationed all the winter in the bay of Quiberon, under the command of Sir Edward Hawke and Sir Charles Hardy. In January, they took two ſmall French frigates, bound to the coaſt of Guinea, and a few merchant-ſhips of little value; and in March, the two admirals returned to Spithead: but another ſquadron was afterward ſent to occupy the ſame ſtation. In July, while the Engliſh were employed in demoliſhing the fortifications

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or the isle of Aix, the great ships that protected this service were attacked by a French armament from the Charante, consisting of six prames*, a few row-gallies, and a great number of launches crouded with men. They dropped down with the ebb, and placing themselves between the isle of d'Enet and Fort Fouras, played upon the English ships in Aix road, with 12 mortars, and 70 large cannon: but they met with such a warm reception from the British squadron, that in a few hours they retreated to their former station, where the water was too shallow for the English ships to return the attack.

These were part of that armament which had loitered in the preceding year at Spithead, until the season for action was elapsed. It had been a favourite scheme of the minister, to reduce the island of Belleisle on the coast of Brittany, and this was the aim of the expedition. Belleisle lies about four leagues from the point of Quiberon, about half way between Port Louis and the mouth of the Loire. It extends about six leagues in length, and little more than two in breadth; contains a pretty large town, called Palais, fortified with a citadel, beside a good number of villages: and the whole number of inhabitants, exclusive of the garrison, may amount to 6000, chiefly maintained by the fishery of pilchards. It was supposed the reduction of this island would be easily atchieved, and the conquest attended with manifold advantages.

The squadron equipped for this enterprize consisted of ten ships of the line, several frigates, two fireships, and two bomb-ketches, commanded by commodore Kepple, brother to the earl of Albemarle, a gallant officer, who had signalized himself on several occasions, in the course of this and the last

* A prame is a long broad vessel of two decks, mounted with 26 large cannon below, and 3 mortars above. They are rigged like ketches, and draw very little water.

war. The whole armament came to anchor in the great road of Belleiſle April 7th, where a diſpoſition was made for landing the forces. This attempt failed, with the loſs of near 500 men, and about 50 mariners. Notwithſtanding this unfavourable beginning, another ſcheme was laid, and the execution of it crowned with ſucceſs. On the 22d day of the month in the morning, the troops were diſpoſed in the flat-bottomed boats, and rowed to different parts of the iſland, as if they intended to land in different places: thus the attention of the enemy was diſtracted in ſuch a manner, that they knew not where to expect the deſcent, and were obliged to divide their forces at random. Mean while brigadier Lambert pitched upon the rocky point of Lomaria, where captain Paterſon, at the head of Beauclerk's grenadiers, and captain Murray, with a detachment of marines, climbed the precipice with aſtoniſhing intrepidity, and ſuſtained the fire of a ſtrong body of the enemy, until they were ſupported by the reſt of the Engliſh troops. Then the French abandoned their batteries, and retired with precipitation: but this advantage was not gained without bloodſhed. The landing was followed by the reduction of the citadel. A conqueſt which could in no reſpect be conſidered as a compenſation for the expence of the armament, and the lives of about 2000 men, who might have been much better employed.

A negociation was now entered into toward a peace, but the intervention of ſome Spaniſh claims, which led to the diſcovery of a private family-compact entered into between France and Spain, fruſtrated it; and Mr. Pitt, diſguſted that his advice for rigorous meaſures with Spain was diſapproved, reſigned his poſts.

A plan for the conqueſt of Martinique was already formed. In the month of October, rear-admiral Rodney ſailed from England with a ſquadron of ſhips, having under convoy a number of tranſports, with four

four battalions from Belleiſle, to join at Barbadoes a ſtrong body of forces from North America, together with ſome regiments and volunteers from Guadalupe and the Leeward Iſlands; thence to proceed, in conjunction with the fleet already on that ſtation, to the execution of the projected invaſion. This was doubtleſs an object of great importance, and might have been eaſily accompliſhed in the firſt attempt under the conduct of general Hopſon; but now the enterprize was encumbered by many difficulties. The iſland was ſtrengthened with new fortifications, a ſtrong body of troops, a numerous regulated militia, experienced officers, and plenty of proviſion, artillery, and ammunition.

War againſt Spain was declared January 4th, 1762.

The armament from North America and England, under the command of major-general Monckton and rear-admiral Rodney, amounting to 18 battalions, and as many ſhips of the line, beſide frigates, bombs, and fireſhips; which having rendezvouſed at Barbadoes in the month of December, proceeded from thence and anchored in St. Anne's Bay, in the eaſtern part of Martinique, after the ſhips of war had ſilenced ſome batteries which the enemy had erected on that part of the coaſt. In the courſe of this ſervice, the Raiſonable, a ſhip of the line, was, by the ignorance of the pilot, run upon a reef of rocks, from whence ſhe could not be diſengaged, though the men were ſaved, together with her ſtores and artillery.

The troops being landed at Cas des Navires, and reinforced with two battalions of marines, which were ſpared from the ſquadron, the general reſolved to beſiege the town of Fort-Royal; which was proſecuted with great bravery. The governor of the citadel, perceiving the Engliſh employed in erecting batteries on the different heights by which he was commanded, ordered the chamade to be beat, and ſurrendered the place by capitulation, on the 4th of February. The

moſt remarkable circumſtance of this enterprize was the ſurpriſing boldneſs and alacrity of the ſeamen, who, by force of arm, drew a number of heavy mortars and ſhips cannon up the ſteepeſt mountains to a conſiderable diſtance from the ſea, and acroſs the enemy's line of fire, to which they expoſed themſelves with amazing indifference. Fourteen French privateers were found in the harbour of Port Royal; and a much greater number, from other parts of the iſland, were delivered up to admiral Rodney, in conſequence of the capitulation with the inhabitants, who, in all other reſpects, were very favourably treated.

The French were now expelled from all their ſettlements in North America, except that of Louiſiana, which was deemed an object of little or no importance: the ſeat of war was transferred from that continent to the French iſlands, the conqueſt of which we have already deſcribed; and it was now reſolved to make a vigorous impreſſion upon Spain, not only by attempting the reduction of the Havanna, which may be conſidered as the key of the bay of Mexico; but alſo by making a deſcent on the iſland of Manilla, in the Eaſt Indies, a country in which the French had now nothing left to be conquered.

The firſt of theſe expeditions was entruſted to the conduct of the earl of Albemarle, commander of the land-forces, recommended for this ſervice by the duke of Cumberland, under whoſe auſpices he had been formed to war; and the ſhips of war, deſtined to cooperate in the attack, were commanded by admiral Sir George Pococke, who had already diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his gallantry in the Eaſt Indies: his ſecond was Mr. Keppel, brother to the earl, an able officer, who had reduced the Iſle of Goree, on the coaſt of Africa. They ſailed from Portſmouth in the beginning of March; and reached the place of their deſtination without accident or obſtruction. Their proceedings ſhall be particularized in their proper place.

The

The deſign againſt Manilla was executed by rear-admiral Corniſh, which we ſhall recount.

For the defence of the Britiſh coaſt, and in order to anſwer the emergencies of war, a powerful ſquadron was kept in readineſs at Spithead, under the direction of Sir Edward Hawke; another rode at anchor in the Downs, under the command of rear-admiral Moore; and from theſe two were occaſionally detached into the channel, and all around the coaſts of the iſland, a number of light cruizers, which acted with ſuch vigilance and activity, that not a ſhip could venture from any of the French ſea-ports, without running the moſt imminent riſque of being taken.

Sir Charles Saunders was reinforced in ſuch a manner, as enabled him to give law in the Mediterranean, and either to prevent a junction of the French and Spaniſh fleets, or, if that ſhould be found impracticable, to give them battle when joined. Lord Colville was continued in the command of the ſquadron at Halifax in Nova Scotia, in order to protect the coaſt of North America, and the new conqueſts, in the gulph and river of St. Laurence. Sir James Douglas ſtill commanded the ſhips of war appointed for the defence of the Leeward Iſlands; and captain Forreſt, ſince the death of admiral Holmes, directed the ſmall ſquadron at Jamaica. Such was the general diſpoſition for the offenſive as well as the defenſive meaſures of the campaign; and the greateſt enemies of the miniſtry muſt allow it was planned with ſagacity, and maintained with reſolution.

A fruitleſs attempt had been made by the enemy to burn the Britiſh ſhips of war at anchor in the road of Baſque. They prepared three fire-veſſels, which being chained together, were towed out of the port, and ſet on fire with a ſtrong breeze that blew directly on the Engliſh ſquadron. This attempt, however, was made with hurry and trepidation; and the wind luckily ſhifting, drove them clear of the

ſhips

ſhips they were intended to deſtroy. They continued burning for ſome time, after having blown up with a terrible exploſion, and every perſon on board periſhed.

Captain Gambier, of the Burford, arrived at Plymouth in April with a large French Eaſt India ſhip from the Iſle of Bourbon, laden with coffee and pepper, which had been taken by one of Sir George Pococke's ſquadron. In May, two Britiſh frigates, cruiſing off Cape St. Vincent, made prize of the Hermione, a Spaniſh regiſter ſhip, bound from Lima to Cadiz, loaded with treaſure and valuable effects, by which all the captors were enriched. Her cargo amounted to about one million ſterling, which was conſiderably more than had ever before been taken in any one bottom: and the loſs of ſo much treaſure, in the beginning of ſuch an expenſive war, muſt have been a ſevere ſtroke on the court of Madrid. The prize was brought from Gibraltar to England, and the gold and ſilver being conveyed in covered waggons to London, was carried in proceſſion to the bank; happening to arrive the ſame morning the prince of Wales was born, which was the 12th of Auguſt.

About the latter end of May, a French ſquadron, under the command of Mr. de Ternay, eſcaped from Breſt in a fog. The French commander ſteered his courſe to Newfoundland, and entered the bay of Bulls, where he landed ſome troops without oppoſition. Having taken poſſeſſion of an inconſiderable Engliſh ſettlement in that bay, they advanced to the town of St. John's, which being in no condition of defence, was ſurrendered upon capitulation. They alſo took the officers and crew of the Gramont ſloop which was in the harbour, with ſeveral other veſſels; and did conſiderable damage to the Engliſh fiſhers and ſettlers on different parts of the coaſt. The miniſtry were no ſooner informed of this ſmall check, which it was impoſſible either to foreſee or prevent, than they

they took meaſures for retrieving the loſs; and this petty triumph of the enemy was of very ſhort duration. The armament fitted out in England for retaking Newfoundland, was rendered unneceſſary by the vigilance and activity of Sir Jeffery Amherſt and lord Colville, who commanded by land and ſea in North America.

In September, the Hunter ſloop of war, one of admiral Moore's cruizers, falling in with four Dutch merchant ſhips in the Channel, under convoy of a frigate of 36 guns, the Engliſh captain prepared to examine the lading of the Dutch veſſels, when the commander of the frigate interpoſing, declared he would not ſuffer any ſuch ſearch to be made. The other inſiſted upon the examination, but being prevented by ſuperior force, made a ſignal to the Diana and Cheſter ſhips of war, which happened to be in ſight, and they advanced accordingly. After ſome expoſtulation, the Dutch captain continuing obſtinate, the Diana fired a gun to bring him to, and he returned a whole broadſide. An engagement immediately enſued, and was maintained with great vivacity for about fifteen minutes, when the Dutchman thought proper to ſtrike his colours, having loſt his own noſe, and nine or ten men in the action. He was brought into the Downs, together with his convoy, which were found laden with contraband merchandize from Havre to Breſt. The Zephyr, a French frigate of 32 guns, bound to Newfoundland, with troops, artillery, ſtores, and ammunition, was alſo taken in the channel, by the Lion ſhip of war. In the beginning of November, a French ſhip of 20 guns, was taken by captain Ruthven, of the Terpſichore, after a ſharp action, in which he himſelf was wounded. The enemy loſt likewiſe the Oiſeau, another frigate of 26 guns, which fell in with captain Tonyn of the king's ſhip the Brune. A third French frigate, called the Minerve, was wrecked in the harbour of Villa Franca, through the pride, precipitation,

tion, and ignorance of her commander. She had, in company with four French ſhips of war, given chace to the Sheerneſs frigate, captain Clarke, from Gibraltar, who took refuge in the harbour of Villa Franca, and there anchored, the wind blowing freſh. He was immediately followed by the enemy, when the captain of the Minerve, actuated by an idle ſpirit of vanity and inſolence, reſolved to lie between him and the ſhore, and ran his ſhip upon the rocks that bound the eaſtern ſide of the harbour. On this melancholy occaſion, captain Clarke, forgetting they were enemies, obeyed the dictates of humanity, by exerting himſelf for their relief. He ſent his boats manned to their aſſiſtance, and actually ſaved the lives of the greater part of their company: an act of generous benevolence, for which he was thanked in perſon by the French commodore.

About the end of Auguſt, captain Hotham of the Æolus, chaced two Spaniſh ſhips into the bay of Aviles, in the neighbourhood of Cape Pinas; and ſtanding into the bay, came to an anchor in ſuch a ſituation, as to bring his guns to bear, not only upon one of the ſhips, but alſo upon a ſmall battery ſituated upon an eminence. After a ſhort conteſt, both the battery and the ſhip were abandoned: but before captain Hotham could take poſſeſſion of his prize, ſhe ran aground, and bulging, was burned by the captors: the other eſcaped in the night. Captain Hotham afterward fell in with a French ſquadron, conſiſting of ſeven ſail, between St. Andero and Bilboa, and kept company with them till the 16th, as far to the weſtward as Cape Finiſterre, when he returned to his ſtation. By a ſloop from Bourdeaux, which he took, he underſtood that this ſquadron had a body of troops on board for St. Domingo.

The navy of France was by this time reduced to ſuch a ſmall number, that their miniſtry was obliged to ſend reinforcements to their ſettlements abroad in ſingle ſhips; ſome of which were intercepted by the

Britiſh cruiſers, particularly one tranſport, containing the beſt part of a regiment, deſigned to reinforce their colony of Louiſiana, which had engaged a good ſhare of their attention ſince the reduction of Canada.

The cruizers of Great Britain were not leſs alert in the ſeas of America. Captain Ourry of the Actæon, in the latitude of Tobago, took a large Spaniſh regiſter ſhip, bound to Lagueira, laden with artillery, ſtores, and ammunition. A fleet of 25 ſail of French merchant-ſhips, richly laden with ſugar, coffee and indigo, took their departure from Cape François for Europe, under convoy of four frigates. Five of theſe veſſels were ſurpriſed and taken in the night by ſome privateers of New York and Jamaica. Next day it was their misfortune to fall in with commodore Keppel, who made prize of their whole fleet and convoy, which were carried into the harbour of Port-Royal in Jamaica.

In the courſe of this war the French nation loſt 37 ſhips of the line, and 55 frigates; of theſe the Engliſh took 18 capital ſhips of war, and 36 frigates; and deſtroyed 14 of the line, and 13 frigates; five large ſhips and ſix frigates they loſt by accidents. On the other hand, the French took two, and deſtroyed three Engliſh frigates; and 13 capital Britiſh ſhips, and 14 frigates, were loſt by accident. Of merchant ſhips belonging to Great Britain, the enemy took 812, from the commencement of the war to the ceſſation of arms.

In September, the honourable Auguſtus Hervey and captain Nugent, arrived in London with diſpatches from the earl of Albemarle and ſir George Pococke. We have already obſerved that the armament under the conduct of thoſe two commanders had ſailed from Portſmouth in March; and, according to the general opinion, was deſtined to act againſt the iſland of Cuba. They were joined by a detachment of the fleet from Martinique, under Sir James Douglas; and, in conſequence of this junction, their whole

whole force conſiſted of 19 ſail of the line, 18 ſmaller ſhips of war, and about 150 tranſports, having on board about 10,000 land forces and marines. Without accident or danger, on July 6th, the admiral lay to, about five leagues to the eaſtward of the Havanna, after having taken a Spaniſh frigate and a ſtore-ſhip in the paſſage. Having iſſued directions to the maſters of the tranſports, with reſpect to the diſembarkation of the army, and left commodore Keppel to ſuperintend this ſervice, with ſix ſail of the line and ſome frigates, he bore away with the reſt of the fleet, and ran down off the harbour, where he deſcried 12 Spaniſh ſhips of the line, with ſeveral trading veſſels. Next morning he embarked his marines in boats, and made a ſhew of landing about four miles to the weſtward of the Havanna; while the earl of Albemarle landed with the whole army, between the rivers Bocanao and Coxemar, about ſix miles to the eaſtward of the Moro Caſtle, which was the enemy's chief fortreſs for the defence of the town and harbour. Three bomb-veſſels being anchored in ſhore, began to throw ſhells into the town. Though this invaſion of the Engliſh was altogether unexpected, the place being ſtrongly fortified and well ſupplied, preparations were inſtantly made for a vigorous defence, by Don Juan de Prado, governor of the city, and the marquis del Real, commodore of the ſhipping; aſſiſted by the counſels and experience of the viceroy of Peru and the governor of Carthagena, who happened to be at the Havanna, in the way to or from their reſpective governments. The attack of the Moro was commanded by major-general Keppel, brother to the earl of Albemarle; and the chief engineer was Mr. Mackellar, who diſplayed uncommon abilities at the ſiege of Louiſbourg, and on many other occaſions both in this and the laſt war.

Faſcines, ſtores, and artillery, being landed from the ſhips with great expedition by the ſeamen, the engineers began to erect batteries of bombs and cannon,

non, while a body of pioneers were employed to cut parallels in the wood, and form a line with faſcines to ſecure the guards from the fire of the enemy, which began to be very troubleſome. About 1000 choſen men of the enemy, with a detachment of armed negroes and mulattoes, landed on two diviſions to the right and left of the Moro, in order to deſtroy the works of the beſiegers: but they were repulſed by the piquets and advanced poſts, and retreated in great confuſion, with the loſs of 200 men, killed and taken.

The admiral's cruizers, who ſcoured the ſea round the whole iſland, brought in the Venganza frigate of 26 guns, the Marté of 18, and a ſchooner, laden with coffee. Sir James Douglas, who had parted from the admiral immediately after their junction, and ſteered his courſe to Jamaica, in a ſingle ſhip, now arrived off the Havanna, having under his convoy a fleet of merchant ſhips bound for England.

The parapet of Fort Moro was all of maſonry; the ditch of the front attacked, was ſeventy feet deep from the edge of the counterſcarp, and more than forty feet of that depth ſunk in the rock. The ſoil of the country in the neighbourhood, being very thin, afforded little earth; and as it was thought neceſſary to carry on the approaches by ſap, this method might have been found altogether impracticable, had not Sir James ſupplied the engineers with cotton bags, from ſome ſhips of his convoy, which were partly loaded with this commodity. Mean while, the enemy made ſuch a vigorous defence, that the ſiege was protracted beyond expectation; a conſiderable delay was likewiſe occaſioned by an unlucky accident. On July 3d, the principal battery of the beſiegers, chiefly conſtructed of timber and faſcines, being dried by the heat of the weather and the continual cannonade, took fire, and the flames raged with ſuch violence, that almoſt the whole work was conſumed. The beſiegers were ſubjected to various

other diſcouragements. Epidemical diſtempers, ſuch as never fail to attack the natives of Britain who viſit thoſe countries, began to make great havock, both in the army and the navy. Theſe were rendered more fatal by the want of neceſſaries and refreſhments. The proviſion was bad; and the troops were ill ſupplied with water. The great number of the ſick rendered the duty more fatiguing to thoſe that were well. In thoſe warm climates, the human body being in a ſtate of relaxation, is incapable of ſuch a degree of labour as it can bear in more northern latitudes; and the men are ſubject to a ſpecies of dejection, which always augments the general mortality: this was now increaſed by the delay of the troops from North America, which they had long expected to no purpoſe.

On the 2d of Auguſt, the ſecond diviſion of the tranſports, with the troops from North America, arrived; and this reinforcement added freſh vigour to the operations of the ſiege. In a few days, the ſeamen and ſoldiers belonging to four of the American tranſports, which had been wrecked in the ſtraights of Bahama, were brought off in five ſloops, detached by the admiral on this ſervice: but, at the ſame time, he received information that five other tranſports, having on board 350 ſoldiers of Anſtruther's regiment, and 150 provincial troops, were taken by a French ſquadron, near the paſſage between Maya Guanna, and the North Caicos. All the reſt of the troops, however, arrived in perfect health.

July 19th the beſiegers took poſſeſſion of the covered-way, before the point of the right baſtion, and a new ſap was begun at this lodgment. The only place by which the foot of the wall was acceſſible, happened to be a thin ridge of rock, left at the point of the baſtion, to cover the extremity of the ditch, which would otherwiſe have been open to the ſea. Along this ridge the miners paſſed, without cover, to the foot of the wall, where they made a lodgment with

with little loſs. Mean while, they ſunk a ſhaft without the covered-way, in order to form a mine for throwing the counterſcarp into the ditch, ſhould it be found neceſſary to fill it; and continued their former ſap along the glacis. In the night of the 21ſt a ſergeant and 12 men ſcaled the walls by ſurprize; but, the garriſon being alarmed before they could be ſuſtained, they were obliged to retreat with precipitation. Next day, at four in the morning, a ſally was made from the town, by 1500 men, divided into three detachments, who attacked the beſiegers in three different places, while a warm fire was kept up in their favour from the forts and their ſhipping in the harbour. After a warm diſpute, which coſt the Engliſh about fifty men killed or wounded, all their three parties were repulſed, and fled with ſuch precipitation, that a conſiderable number was drowned in the hurry of their retreat. On the 30th day of the month, about two in the morning, a floating battery was towed out into the harbour, and fired with grape-ſhot and ſmall arms into the ditch, though without any great interruption to the miners; and the cloſe fire of the covering party ſoon compelled the enemy to retire.

In the afternoon, two mines were ſprung by the beſiegers, with ſuch effect, that a practicable breach was made in the baſtion; and orders were immediately given for the aſſault. The troops mounted with great intrepidity, and, forming on the top of the breach, drove the enemy from every part of the ramparts, after a ſhort, though very warm, diſpute; in which about 130 Spaniards were killed, including ſeveral officers of diſtinction. Don Louis de Velaſco, governor of the fort, had diſtinguiſhed himſelf from the beginning of the ſiege, by ſuch activity and courage, as attracted the admiration and eſteem even of his enemies. In this laſt action, he did all that could be expected from the moſt romantic gallantry; and fell by a ſhot he received in defending the colours of

Spain. The marquis Gonzales, who was ſecond in command, likewiſe loſt his life on this occaſion. About 400 of the garriſon threw down their arms, and were made priſoners: the reſt were either killed or drowned, in attempting to eſcape to the Havanna. Lieutenant-colonel Stuart, who commanded the attack, loſt but 2 lieutenants, and 12 men.

The reduction of the Moro was not immediately attended with the ſurrender of the Havanna; on the contrary, the governor of the place now directed his chief fire againſt the fortreſs which they had loſt. On the 11th of Auguſt, at day-break, about 45 cannon and 8 mortars began to play againſt the town and the Punta, which laſt was ſilenced before ten; in another hour the north baſtion was almoſt diſabled. About two in the afternoon, white flags were hung out all round the place, as well as on board the admiral's ſhip in the harbour; and, in a little time, a flag of truce arrived at the head quarters, with propoſals of capitulation. The governor ſtickled hard to obtain permiſſion to ſend the ſhips to Spain, and to have the harbour declared neutral: but neither of theſe points could be given up, and hoſtilities were ordered to be renewed; when the enemy thought proper to recede from their demands. By the capitulation, which was ſigned on the 13th, the inhabitants were ſecured in their private property, in the enjoyment of their own laws and religion; and next day the Engliſh troops took poſſeſſion of this important conqueſt. As for the Spaniſh garriſon, which amounted to about 900, including officers, they were indulged with the honours of war; and it was ſtipulated, that they and the ſailors ſhould be conveyed to Old Spain. In the progreſs of the ſiege, about 500 of the Britiſh troops, including 15 officers, were killed out-right or died of their wounds; and about 700, comprehending 39 officers, were cut off by diſtemper, which raged with redoubled violence after the reduction of the place.

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So much treaſure intercepted by the Engliſh, firſt in the ſhip Hermione, and now in the iſland of Cuba, muſt have been a ſevere ſtroke upon the king of Spain: but the ruin of his navy was of much greater importance, and even that but a trifle in compariſon to the loſs of the Havanna; the port at which all their galleons and flota, loaded with the riches of Mexico and Peru, rendezvouſed in their return to Old Spain; the port which abſolutely commanded the only paſſage by which their ſhips could ſail from the bay of Mexico to Europe. The reduction of the Havannah, therefore, was an acquiſition, that not only diſtreſſed the Spaniards in the moſt eſſential manner, by ſtopping the ſources of their wealth, but likewiſe opened to the conquerors an eaſy avenue to the centre of their American treaſures. In no former war had Great Britain acquired ſuch large ſums at the expence of her enemies. Her ſucceſs in the Eaſt Indies is ſaid to have brought into England near ſix millions in treaſure and jewels, ſince the commencement of hoſtilities: but every million thus acquired, ſhe expended tenfold in the courſe of her ſubſidies and expeditions.

The loſs of the Havanna, with the ſhips and treaſure there taken, was not the only diſaſter ſuſtained by Spain in the ſhort courſe of the war, which ſhe had ſo imprudently declared againſt Great Britain. She received another dangerous wound in the Eaſt Indies by the loſs of Manilla, a conſiderable ſettlement on Luconia, the largeſt of the Philippine iſlands. This city is the centre of the Spaniſh trade, from whence two large ſhips are ſent annually acroſs the vaſt Pacific ocean to Acapulco, on the coaſt of Mexico, laden with the ſpices, ſtuffs, jewels, and other rich merchandize of India. (See our account of the Spaniſh American trade, in vol. 1. and Anſon's voyage in vol. 3.)

Againſt this ſettlement, a plan of attack was formed at Madraſs, to be executed by part of the ſquadron of vice-admiral Corniſh, and a few battalions under the command of brigadier-general Draper, who had

ſignaliſed himſelf in the defence of Madras, when it was beſieged by the enemy. Vice-admiral Cornish ſupplied a ſtrong battalion of ſeamen and marines; ſo that the whole force amounted to 2300 effective men.

The forces, with the ſtores and artillery, being embarked, the admiral ſailed in two diviſions about the beginning of Auguſt, and on the 23d of September anchored in the bay of Manilla, where they found the enemy but ill prepared for a ſiege, and much alarmed at this unexpected viſit. The governor was the archbiſhop, who ſtiles himſelf captain-general of the Philippine iſlands: but the garriſon, amounting to 800 men of the royal regiment, was commanded by the marquis de Villa-Medina, a brigadier-general, who now reinforced it with a body of 10,000 Indians, from the province of Pampanga, a fierce and ſavage nation.

The admiral, having ſounded the coaſt, diſcovered a convenient place for landing the troops, about two miles to the ſouthward of Manilla. The proper diſpoſitions being made, and the three frigates, Argo, Sea-horſe, and Seaford, moored very near the ſhore, to cover the deſcent; three diviſions of the forces were put on board the boats of the fleet, and landed at the church and village of Malata, not without ſome difficulty from a great ſurf that rolled on the beach. The enemy began to aſſemble in great numbers, both horſe and infantry, to oppoſe the deſcent; but the frigates maintained ſuch a warm fire of cannon, to the right and left, that they ſoon diſperſed; and the general diſembarked his troops without the loſs of one man; while the Spaniſh garriſon were employed in burning the ſuburbs of Manilla.

The governor had been already twice ſummoned to ſurrender, but returned a reſolute refuſal; and, indeed, if the valour of his troops had correſponded with the vigour of his declaration, he had but little to apprehend from an handful of enemies, who, far from

from being in a condition to inveſt the city on all ſides, were obliged to confine their operations to one corner, leaving two thirds of it open to all manner of ſupplies. The front, which the general reſolved to attack, was defended by the baſtions of St. Diego, and St. Andrew; a ravelin, which covered the royal gate, a wet ditch, a covered way, and a glacis. The baſtions were in good order, mounted with a great number of fine braſs cannon: but the ravelin was not armed; nor the covered way in good repair: the glacis was too low, and the ditch was not carried round the capital of the baſtion of St. Diego. The breadth of the ditch was about thirty yards, but the depth of water did not exceed five feet. It was ſounded by a detachment, headed by captain Fletcher, who begged leave to undertake this dangerous enterprize, which he atchieved in the midſt of the enemy's fire, with the loſs of three men. Some ſtraggling ſeamen having been murdered by the ſavages, the governor ſent out a flag of truce on the 27th, to apologize for theſe barbarities, and requeſt the releaſe of his own nephew, who had been lately taken in the bay, by the boats of the fleet. Next day, while lieutenant Fryar, with a flag of truce, conducted this priſoner to the town, a detachment of the garriſon, intermixed with Indians, ſallied out to attack one of the poſts of the beſiegers: when the ſavages, without reſpecting the law of nations, or the ſacred character of an officer, under the protection of a flag of truce, fell upon Mr. Fryar, with the moſt inhuman fury, murdered him on the ſpot, and mortally wounded the Spaniſh gentleman who endeavoured to protect his conductor. In their attack, they were ſoon repulſed by the Britiſh party that defended the poſt, who were ſo exaſperated by their barbarity, that they gave them no quarter.

Meanwhile ſeveral mortars bombarded the town day and night, without ceaſing; and the engineers were employed in erecting batteries to play upon their

works. At length the greater part of their Indians, diſcouraged by repeated defeats, returned to their own habitations. The fire from the garriſon grew faint; and all their defences appeared to be in a ruinous condition. On the 5th of October, the fire of the beſiegers was ſo well directed, that the breach became practicable; and it was hoped the garriſon would demand a capitulation: but they ſeemed to be obſtinate and ſullen, without courage or activity: they had not exerted themſelves in repairing their works; and now they neglected all means of obtaining favourable terms, without having taken the reſolution to defend the breach; ſo that the Engliſh general made a diſpoſition for ſtorming the town.

On the 6th, at four o'clock in the morning, the troops deſtined for this ſervice, filed off from their quarters, in ſmall bodies, to avoid ſuſpicion, and gradually aſſembling at the church of St. Jago, concealed themſelves in the place of arms, and the parallel between the church and the battery. Meanwhile, major Barker maintained a cloſe fire upon the works of the enemy, and thoſe places where they might be lodged or intrenched; the mortars co-operating in the ſame ſervice. At day-break, a large body of Spaniards was ſeen formed on the baſtion of St. Andrew, as if they had received intimation of the intended aſſault, and had reſolved to annoy the aſſailants with muſquetry and grape-ſhot from the retired flank of the baſtion, where they had ſtill two cannon fit for ſervice; but a few ſhells falling among them, they retired in confuſion. The Britiſh troops ſeized this opportunity, and, directed by the ſignal of a general diſcharge from the artillery and mortars, ruſhed on to the aſſault, under cover of the thick ſmoke which blew directly on the town. According to colonel Draper's own account, the total of the troops with which he entered Manilla amounted to little more than 2000, a motley compoſition of ſeamen, ſoldiers, Sepoys, Cafres, Laſcars, Topaſees, with French and German

man deſerters. Theſe aſſailants mounted the breach with incredible courage and rapidity; while the Spaniards, on the baſtion, retired ſo ſuddenly, that it was imagined they depended entirely on their mines. Captain Stephenſon was immediately ordered to examine the ground; but this precaution was needleſs. The Engliſh troops penetrated into the town with very little oppoſition, the governor, with the principal magiſtrates, retiring into the citadel. This retreat was in itſelf imprudent, becauſe they did not ſo much as attempt either to defend themſelves or to make their eſcape; and it was accordingly attended with the moſt diſagreeable conſequences. Colonel Draper, having no offer of capitulation or ſurrender made him, could not prevent his troops, for ſome hours, from making the city feel all the rapaciouſneſs to which a city taken by ſtorm is ſubjected from the common men; and thoſe he commanded, we may eaſily ſuppoſe, excepting the few regulars among them, were of the moſt unruly kind. At laſt, the citadel being in no condition of defence, the archbiſhop and the magiſtrates ſurrendered themſelves priſoners at diſcretion. The marquis de Villa-Medina, with the reſt of the Spaniſh officers, were admitted as priſoners of war, on their parole of honour; and all the Indians were diſmiſſed in ſafety. The ſucceſs of the victors was the more agreeable, as it was obtained with very little bloodſhed; their loſs in the action not exceeding 20 men.

Manilla was no ſooner poſſeſſed by the Britiſh forces, than the admiral went on ſhore to conſult with general Draper on this great event; and to ſettle a capitulation, that might ſave ſo fine a city from deſtruction: but a draught of terms, in the name of the archbiſhop, the royal audience, and the city and commerce of Manilla, was preſented, which were ſo unſuitable to their deſperate ſituation, that they were rejected as unſatisfactory and inadmiſſible. The Engliſh commanders then took the pen, and dictated the

condition on which the city of Manilla ſhould be preſerved from plunder, and the inhabitants maintained in their religion, liberties, and properties; to which the Spaniards conſented. In conſequence of this capitulation, the town and port of Cavite, with the iſlands and forts depending upon Manilla, were to be ſurrendered to his Britannic majeſty; and four millions of dollars paid as a ranſom for the city of Manilla, and the effects of the inhabitants. All the Britiſh forces employed in this expedition were but barely ſufficient to garriſon theſe important conquells, which were atchieved with ſo little loſs, that not above one hundred men were killed in the whole ſervice.

The acquiſition of Luconia, with its towns, treaſures, artillery, fleets, iſlands, and dependencies, was rendered compleat by another fortunate event. Admiral Cornish no ſooner underſtood by letters taken in the galley with the Spaniſh governor's nephew, that the galleon Philippina was arrived from Acapulco at Calyagan, than he ſent the Panther and Argo in queſt of her. On the 30th of October, being off the iſland Capul, near the entrance of the Embocadero, they deſcried a ſail ſtanding to the northward; they came up with, and engaged her: after having been cannonaded two hours at a very ſmall diſtance, ſhe ſtruck their colours and ſurrendered. But they were not a little ſurpriſed, when the Spaniſh general came on board, to learn, that, inſtead of the St. Philippina, they had taken the Santiſſima Trinidad, which had departed from Manilla on the 1ſt day of Auguſt, bound for Acapulco. She was a very large ſhip, ſo thick in the ſides, that the ſhot of the Panther did not penetrate any part of her, except the upper works. She had four decks on board; was pierced for ſixty cannon, but no more than 13 were mounted. The merchandize on board was eſtimated to the amount of one million and a half of dollars, and the whole cargo ſuppoſed to be worth double that ſum; ſo that this

capture

capture was a valuable addition to the conqueſt, and a freſh wound to the enemy.

At no period of time had the Spaniſh monarchy ſuffered ſuch grievous and mortifying diſaſters, as thoſe ſhe ſuſtained in the courſe of this year, from a war into which ſhe was precipitately plunged, againſt all the dictates of ſound policy and caution, meerly to gratify the private inclinations of her ſovereign.

The recovery of St. John's, in Newfoundland, was likewiſe numbered among the ſucceſſes which gave a luſtre to the Britiſh arms in the courſe of this autumn; and was regained without much trouble or loſs.

Thus the operations of war were proſecuted with unremitting ardour in the Eaſt and Weſt Indies; while the king ſtill perſiſted in his reſolution to embrace the firſt opportunity of re-eſtabliſhing peace, which, excluſive of motives of humanity, he thought abſolutely neceſſary for the advantage of his own people. He ſaw them exhauſting their blood and treaſure in quarrels, not their own, upon the continent of Germany; and that this fatal drain could not be effectually ſtopped, but by a general pacification. The national debt was encreaſed to ſuch an enormous burden, as ſeemed to threaten the immediate ruin of public credit, which a peace alone could prevent. The original ſcope of the war, namely, the ſecurity of the Britiſh colonies in America, was fully accompliſhed; forty ſhips of the line were rendered uſeleſs by hard ſervice: 30,000 recruits were wanted for the army; and the war had occaſioned ſuch a ſcarcity of men, that, during the preceding year, it had been found impracticable to raiſe above 1500 recruits for the eſtabliſhed regiments, though great premiums had been offered to engage men in the ſervice. Theſe conſiderations reinforced the other reaſons which induced his majeſty to wiſh for peace; and his ſentiments were warmly eſpouſed by all the members of his council.

The

The king of Sardinia is ſaid to have offered his beſt offices for reviving the negotiation between the courts of London and Verſailles; and, in all probability, his mediation was cordially embraced by both. Certain it is, they agreed to treat in good earneſt, and to ſend mutually to each other, a perſon of the firſt rank, veſted with the powers and character of ambaſſador and plenipotentiary. The duke of Bedford being choſen for this purpoſe, by the king of Great Britain, ſet out for France in the beginning of September; and, at the ſame time, the duke de Nivernois arrived in England with the ſame character from his moſt chriſtian majeſty. Many difficulties were levelled by the hearty deſire of peace, which animated both monarchs. The humours and intereſts of their German allies no longer obſtructed the progreſs of the negotiation, which now turned only upon the re-eſtabliſhment of peace between England and the houſes of Bourbon. The king of Pruſſia delivered from two formidable enemies, in conſequence of his late accommodation with Ruſſia and Sweden, was now in a condition to take care of himſelf: beſide, that ſyſtem was changed, by which his intereſts had been ſo warmly eſpouſed at the court of London. In ſettling the preliminaries, which were diſcuſſed in concert with the kings of Spain and Portugal, the belligerant powers made allowances for what might have happened in the Eaſt and Weſt Indies, and regulated the conceſſions to be made in proportion to the ſucceſs or miſcarriage that might attend the Britiſh armaments.

We have now nothing remaining unnoticed, but an unfortunate affair which was the laſt tranſaction of the war; and which ſtands in a manner unconnected with any other. Upon the diſpute with Spain, ſome private merchants and adventurers had fitted out two ſhips called the Lord Clive and the Ambuſcade privateers. The former, being equal in force to a ſhip of 50 guns, was commanded by one captain M'Namara, who was eſteemed as a brave experienced officer,

officer, and he was to be joined by other ſhips, particularly a Portugueſe frigate, to proceed on an expedition to the South Seas. In December 1762, the whole ſquadron arrived in the river Plata; which they found much better prepared to receive them than they had imagined. The expedition was originally planned for getting poſſeſſion of Buenos Ayres; but finding the navigation of the river very difficult, they reſolved, before they proceeded farther, to attack Nova Colonia; a colony on the north ſide of the river Plate, which the Spaniards had ſome time before taken from the Portugueſe: an Engliſh pilot, whom they found on board a Portugueſe ſhip, undertaking to bring the commodore within piſtol-ſhot of the chief battery on ſhore. On the 6th of January 1763, the Lord Clive made the ſignal for engaging, and ſoon after anchored under the fire of the eaſtmoſt battery of the place, while the Ambuſcade was ſeverely handled by the fire of the middle and weſtmoſt batteries, and from ſome Spaniſh frigates. A moſt fierce cannonading began on both ſides, which laſted from eleven in the forenoon till three in the afternoon; when the enemy's fire, that had been before kept up very ſteadily, began to flag, and they themſelves to retire to the eaſtmoſt battery, as the place of greateſt ſafety. In this ſtate of the engagement, when the Engliſh expected every moment to ſee the Spaniſh colours ſtruck, the Lord Clive was found to be on fire. No ſooner did the flames appear, than it was eaſy to perceive that it was impoſſible to extinguiſh them. In an inſtant the attack was diſcontinued: the Ambuſcade, with vaſt difficulty, got clear of the other ſhip's flames, but was little better than a wreck, having received a great number of ſhot between wind and water. As to the crew of the Lord Clive, ſome periſhed in the water, ſome in the flames, and many by the enemy's fire, which recommenced on the occaſion: ſo that no more than 78 of 340, the complement of the ſhip when the engagement began, eſcaped with their lives, the ſhip

blowing up about eight in the evening. The fate of the unhappy ſufferers was the more affecting, as it would have been certain deſtruction for any of the other ſhips to have moved to their relief. The Ambuſcade, in danger of ſinking every moment, found means to ſtop her leaks in the river Plate, and to eſcape to the Portugueſe ſettlement of Rio de Janeiro, with the loſs of 24 killed. It ought however to be confeſſed, that ſuch of the Lord Clive's crew as reached the ſhore, were humanely received, treated, and cloathed, by the Spaniards, whoſe reſentment ſeemed to be extinguiſhed in the calamity of their enemies.

The definitive treaty of peace was ſigned at Paris on February 10th, 1763; and the terms of it were more advantageous to Great Britain and her allies, than thoſe which were agreed to by the late miniſter. It muſt be acknowleged that Great Britain, by extending the frontiers of Canada, to the middle of the Miſſiſippi, gained a large tract of fertile country lying on the banks of that river, beſide the advantage of a free navigation upon it, and the poſſeſſion of the port of Mobile: but, in order to ſecure the Engliſh American colonies from all poſſibility of diſturbance from the French, that reſtleſs nation ought to have been expelled from the whole country of Louiſiana.

England, by this peace, likewiſe gained an acceſſion, in France's ceding to her the iſland of Grenada; which, when fully cultivated and peopled, may be of ſome conſequence. She moreover acquired the unſettled iſlands of Dominica, Tobago, and St. Vincent; but yielded to France the iſland of St. Lucie, ſaid to be worth all the reſt. She retains the ſettlement of Senegal on the coaſt of Africa, by which ſhe engroſſes the whole gum trade of that country; as for the rock of Goree, which ſhe reſtored, it was no great ſacrifice. The article that relates to the Eaſt Indies, was dictated by the directors of the Engliſh company; and ſurely the French

have

have no reaſon to complain of its ſeverity, as it reſtores them to the poſſeſſion of all the places they had at the beginning of the war, on condition that they ſhall maintain neither forts nor forces in the kingdom of Bengal: thus they will enjoy all their former advantages in trade, without the temptation and expence of forming ſchemes of conqueſt and dominion.

The demolition of the works belonging to the harbour of Dunkirk, is no doubt a ſenſible mortification to France, though of little conſequence to England, while a ſquadron of ſhips is kept at anchor in the Downs. It became an object of ſome conſideration in the war of queen Anne, as a neſt of privateers that infeſted the channel; and was afterward uſed as an inflammatory term of faction. The danger that may threaten England from Dunkirk, does not depend upon veſſels which could be received into the harbour; but muſt ariſe from a ſtrong ſquadron of ſhips of the line, which may always lie at anchor in the road.

The liberty of cutting logwood in the bay of Honduras, granted to the ſubjects of Great Britain, was undoubtedly a great point gained in their favour; but their obliging themſelves to demoliſh their fortifications on that coaſt, was a tacit acknowlegement that the privilege was not founded upon right, but derived from favour. The ceſſion of Florida, with the forts of St. Auguſtine and Penſacola, to Great Britain, was an object of much greater importance. It extended the Britiſh dominions along the coaſt to the mouth of the Miſſiſippi. It removed an aſylum for the ſlaves of the Engliſh colonies, who were continually making their eſcape to St. Auguſtine. It deprived the Spaniards of an eaſy avenue, through which they had it in their power to invade Georgia and Carolina; it afforded a large extent of improveable territory, a ſtrong frontier, and a good port in the bay of Mexico, both for the convenience of trade,

and the annoyance of the Spaniards in any future conteſt. But neither the ceſſion of Florida, nor the renunciation of the right to the fiſhery, nor the permiſſion granted to the Engliſh logwood cutters, nor the evacuation of Portugal; nor all theſe articles together, can ever be eſteemed equivalent to the reſtitution of the Havanna; for which, indeed, the Spaniſh monarch had no ſuitable compenſation to make, without diſmembring his kingdom; unleſs he had thrown into the ſcale with his other conceſſions, that of a free navigation, without ſearch, to the Britiſh traders on the coaſt of New Spain. The crown of Spain was much favoured by the article which ſtipulates, that the conqueſts, not included in the treaty either as ceſſions or reſtitutions, ſhould be reſtored without compenſation. Neither France nor Spain had any armament on foot, from which they could expect the leaſt acquiſition or ſucceſs; whereas the miniſtry of England had great reaſon to believe that the iſland of Luconia was already reduced.

On the whole, the treaty, though it might have been more favourable in ſome articles, certainly confirmed great and ſolid advantages to Great Britain; and will remain as an eternal monument of that moderation which forms the moſt amiable flower in the wreath of conqueſt.

Such was the iſſue of a war, ſanguinary beyond example, which had raged with uncommon fury in the four quarters of the globe; which had ruined many fair provinces; and, in the ſpace of ſeven years, deſtroyed above a million of lives; which had coſt Great Britain, in particular, above two hundred and eighty thouſand men, including a great number of brave and able officers, with an incredible quantity of treaſure; and increaſed the burthen of her national debt, from fourſcore, to one hundred and thirty millions ſterling.

The

The Royal Navy of GREAT BRITAIN as it ſtood at the cloſe of the Year 1762.

N. B. Thoſe in *Italics* were taken from the French or Spaniards.

FIRST RATES.

Guns
100 Britannia
100 Royal George
100 *R. Sovereign*

SECOND RATES.

90 Blenheim
90 Duke
90 St. George
90 Namur
90 *Neptune*
90 Ocean
90 Prince
90 Princeſs Royal
84 Royal William
90 Sandwich
90 Union

THIRD RATES.

64 Africa
64 *Alcide*
74 Arrogant
64 Bedford
64 *Belliqueux*
74 Bellona
64 Belleiſle
64 *Bienfaiſant*
70 Buckingham
70 Burford
80 Cambridge
64 Captain
74 *Centaur*
70 Chicheſter
74 Cornwall
74 Culloden
64 Defiance
66 Devonſhire
70 Dorſetſhire
74 Dragon
74 Dublin
64 Elizabeth
64 Eſſex
74 Fame
80 *Foudroyant*
70 Grafton
64 Hampton-Court
74 Hercules
74 Hero
74 Kent
74 Lenox
74 *Magnanime*
68 Marlborough
74 Mars
64 *Modeſte*
64 Monmouth
64 Naſſau
80 Newark
74 Norfolk
70 Northumberland
70 Orford
64 Pr. Frederick
80 Princeſs Amelia
60 Princeſs Mary
64 Revenge
74 Shrewſbury
70 Somerſet
74 Sterling-Caſtle
74 *Superb*
70 Swiftſure
74 *Temeraire*
70 Temple
74 Terrible
74 Thunderer
74 Torbay
64 *Trident*
74 Valiant
70 Vanguard
74 Warſpight

FOURTH RATES.

60 Achilles
60 America
60 Anſon
50 Antelope
50 Aſſiſtance
50 Centurion
50 Chatham
50 Cheſter
Dreadnought
50 Deptford
60 Dunkirk
60 Edgar
50 Falkland
50 Falmouth
60 *Firme*
60 *Florentine*
50 Guernſey
50 Hampſhire
60 Jerſey
60 *Intrepide*
50 *Iſis*
60 Lion
60 Medway
60 Montague
50 Norwich
60 Nottingham
50 *Oriflame*
60 Panther
60 Pembroke
50 Portland
50 Preſton
60 Prince of Orange
60 Rippon
50 Romney
50 Rocheſter
50 Saliſbury
50 Sutherland
60 Weymouth
50 Wincheſter
60 Windſor
60 York

FIFTH RATES.

32 Adventure
32 Alarm
32 *Arethuſa*
32 Æolus
32 *Bologne*
32 Boſton
32 *Blonde*
36 Brilliant
32 *Creſcent*
38 *Danae*
32 *Diana*
44 Dover
32 *Emerald*
44 Enterprize
32 *Flora*
44 Goſport
32 Juno
32 Lark
44 Launceſton
30 Looe
44 Lynn
36 *Melampe*
32 Minerva
32 Montreal
32 *Niger*
36 Pallas
44 Penzance
44 Phœnix
44 Prince Edw.
32 Quebec
44 *Rainbow*
36 *Renown*
32 *Repulſe*
32 Richmond
32 Saphire
32 Southampton
32 Stagg
32 Thames
32 *Thetis*
30 Torrington
32 Tweed
36 Venus
32 *Veſtal*
44 Woolwich

SIXTH RATES.

28 Actæon
28 *Active*
20 Aldborough
24 *Amazon*
28 *Aquilon*
28 Argo
24 Arundel
28 Boreas
28 Cerberus
24 Coventry
20 Deal-Caſtle
24 Dolphin
24 *Echo*
20 Flamborough
24 Fowey
24 Garland
20 Gibraltar
20 Glaſgow
20 Greyhound
24 Hind
24 Kennington
28 Levant
24 Lively
28 Liverpool
28 Lizard
24 Ludlow Caſtle
28 Maidſtone
24 Mercury
28 Milford
24 Nightingale
24 Portmahon
20 Roſe
24 Rye
20 Scarborough
20 Seaford
20 Seahorſe
28 Shannon
24 Sheerneſs
24 Solebay
20 *Syren*
24 Surprize
28 Tartar
24 *Terpſichore*
28 Trent

Guns.	
28	Trent
28	*Valeur*
28	Unicorn
24	Wager
	SLOOPS.
14	Albany
10	Alderney
10	Antigua
12	Badger
16	Baltimore
10	Barbadoes
10	Bonetta
8	Cruzier
18	Cygnet
10	Diligence
14	Diſpatch
10	Druid
14	Eſcorte
16	Favourite
18	Ferret
8	*Flambro's Prize*
8	Fly
14	Fortune

Guns.	
14	Grampus
10	Granado
8	Goree
8	Happy
8	Hazard
14	Hornet
14	Hound
10	Hunter
14	Jamaica
10	King's Fiſher
8	Laurel
6	Lurcher
18	Merlin
16	Mortar
18	Nautilus
8	Peggy
10	Pomona
10	Otter
14	Pelican
14	Porcupine
18	Poſtillion
8	Ranger
	Racehorſe
14	Saltaſh

Guns.	
8	Savage
14	Senegal
14	Sardome
8	Speedwell
10	Spy
14	Swallow
14	Swift
14	Swan
16	Tamer
	Terror
10	Thunder
14	Trial
14	Vulture
8	Waſp
16	Weazle
8	Wolf
10	*Zephir*
	BOMB VESSELS.
	Baſiliſk
	Blaſt
	Carcaſs
	Firedrake
	Furnace
	Infernal
	Fire-Sh. no Guns.
	Ætna
	Cormorant
	Grampus
	Lightning
	Pluto
	Raven
	Roman Emperor
	Proſerpine
	Salamander
	Strombolo
	Veſuvius
	YACHTS.
10	Dorſet
8	Fubbs
8	Katherine
	Auguſta
	STORESHIPS.
20	Crown
24	South-Sea-Caſtle

Ships out of Commiſſion and building.

Rates.	Guns.	Names.
3	74	Albion
3	64	Aſia
4	60	Auguſta
5	44	Angleſea
5	32	Aurora
2	90	*Barfleur*
		Ditto, a new ſhip
3	80	Boyne
4	50	Briſtol
6	24	Blandford
	90	Blenheim
		Hoſpital-ſhip
3	74	Canada
4	60	Canterbury
3	74	*Courageux*
4	50	Colcheſter
3	74	Defiance
6	24	Experiment
4	60	Eagle
3	64	Edinburgh
4	60	Exeter
5	44	Eltham
5	44	Expedition
3	80	*Formidable*
4	50	Glouceſter
5	44	Glory
6	28	Guadalupe
5	44	Haſtings
5	44	Hector
5	30	Jaſon
2	90	London
5	44	Mary Galley
		Martin Sloop
		Mary Yacht
3	74	Monarch
4	50	Nonſuch
3	80	Pr. Caroline
4	60	Pr. Louiſa
4	60	Plymouth
5	44	Poole
1	90	Queen
1	100	Royal Anne
3	84	Ramillies
3	64	Royal Oak
4	60	Rupert
4	50	Ruby
		R. Charlotte Yacht
3	64	Suffolk
4	60	St. Albans
6	24	Sphinx
3	74	Triumph
	28	Vengeance
	10	Viper
1	100	Victory
		Vulture Sloop
4		Warwick
5		Winchelſea
4	60	Worceſter
		William and Mary Yacht
3	64	Yarmouth

Complement of Men, and Weight of Metal, in the Royal Navy.

Ships of three Decks.

Guns.	Men.	Metal.		
100	850	42	24	12 6
90	750	32	18	12 6
80	600	32	18	9 6

Ships of two Decks.

80	74 650	32	18	9
70	520	32	18	9
68	Ditto			
66	Ditto			
64	480	24	12	6

Guns.	Men.	Metal.		
60	420	24	12	6
60	400	24	9	6
50	350	24	12	6
50	300	18	9	6
44	40 250	18	9	6

Frigates of one Deck.

36	240	12	6
32	220	12	6
28	200	9	4
20	160	9	4

The End of the SEVENTH VOLUME.